







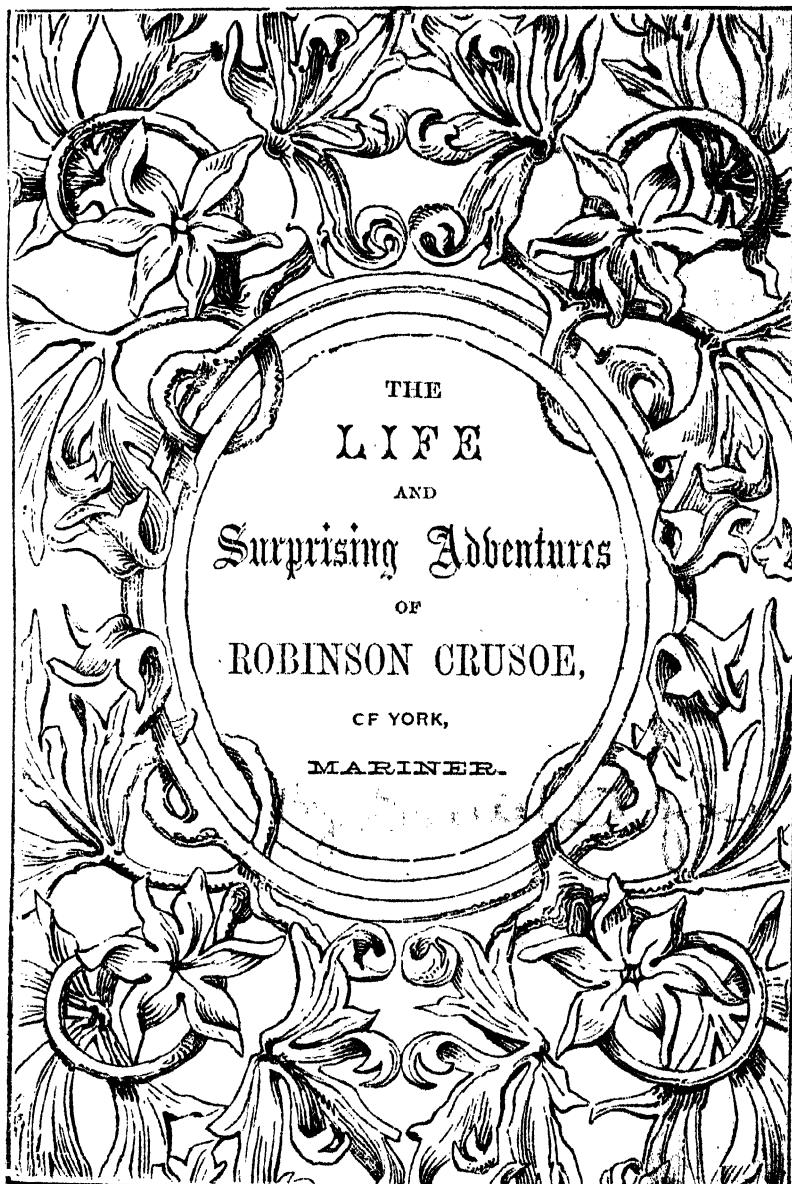






"Oh that there had been but one or two—nay, but one soul saved out of the ship, that I might have had one companion, one fellow-creature to speak to, and to converse with me! But it was not to be. I had only the affliction some days after to see the corpse of a drowned boy come on shore."—p. 74.

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THE  
LIFE AND ADVENTURES  
OF  
ROBINSON CRUSOE.



I WAS born in the year 1632, in the city of York. My father was a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull, and leaving off trade, lived afterward at York, from whence he married my mother, whose relations were named Robinson, a very good family in that country. From this I was called Robinson Krentznaer, but by the usual corruption of words in England, we are now called, nay we call ourselves, and write our name Crusoe; and so my companions always called me.

I was the third son of the family, and not being bred to any trade, my head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts: my father had given me a competent share of learning, and designed me for the law, but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea; and my inclination to this led me strongly against the will, nay the commands, of my father, and against all the entreaties and persuasions of my mother and other friends.

My father, a wise and grave old man, gave me serious and

excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design. He called me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and expostulated very warmly with me: he asked me what reasons, more than a mere wandering inclination, I had for leaving my father's house and my native country, where I had a fair prospect of raising myself by application and industry. He told me that I was under no necessity of seeking my bread; that he would do well for me, and that if I was not comfortable and happy in the world, it would be my own fault, and that as he would do very kind things for me if I would settle at home as he desired, so he would not have so much hand in my misfortunes, as to give me any encouragement to go away. To close all, he told me I had my elder brother for an example, to whom he had used the same earnest persuasions to keep him from going into the Low Country wars, but could not prevail, his young desires prompting him to run into the army, where he was killed. And though he said he would not cease to pray for me, yet he would venture to say to me, that if I did take this foolish step, I would have to reflect upon having neglected his counsel when there might be none to assist in my recovery.

I observed in this last part of his discourse, which was truly prophetic, though I suppose my father did not know it to be so himself,—I say, I observed the tears run down his face very plentifully, and especially when he spoke of my brother who was killed; and that when he spoke of my having leisure to repent, and none to assist me, he was so moved, that he broke off the discourse, and told me his heart was so full he could say no more.

I was sincerely affected with this discourse,—as, indeed, who could be otherwise? and I resolved not to think of going abroad any more, but to settle at home according to my father's desire. But, alas, a few days wore it all off; and, to prevent my father's further importunities, in a few weeks after I resolved to run quite away from him. However, I did not act quite so hastily as my first heat of resolution prompted; but I took my mother, at a time when I thought her more good-humoured than ordinary, and told her, that my thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the world, that I should never settle to any thing at home, and that my father had better give me his consent than force me to go without it; that I was now eighteen years old, which was

too late to be apprentice to a trade, or clerk to an attorney; that I was sure, if I did, I should never serve out my time, but should certainly run away from my master and go to sea; and that if she would speak to my father to let me go but one voyage, if I came home again and did not like it, I would go no more, but endeavour by a double diligence to recover the time I had lost.

This affected my mother very much; she told me she knew it would be of no use to speak to my father on the subject; and that she wondered how I could think of such a thing after the kind and tender expressions she knew my father had used to me; and that, in short, if I would ruin myself, there was no help for me; but I might depend upon it I should never have their consent.

It was not in fact till almost a year after this that I broke loose, though in the mean time I continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business. Being one day at Hull, where I went casually, and one of my companions being about to go by sea to London in his father's ship, and prompting me to go with them, with the common allurements of sea-faring men, viz. that it should cost me nothing for my passage, I consulted neither father or mother any more, nor so much as sent them word of it; but leaving them to hear of it as they might, without asking God's blessing, or my father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences, on the first of September 1651, I went on board a ship bound for London.

The ship was no sooner out of the Humber, than the wind began to blow, and the waves to rise in a frightful manner; and as I had never been at sea before, I was terribly sick in body, as well as terrified in mind. I began now to reflect upon what I had done; all the good counsel of my parents, my father's tears and my mother's entreaties, came fresh into my mind, and my conscience reproached me with the contempt of their advice, and the breach of my duty to God and my father.

All this while the storm increased, and the sea rose very high, though nothing like what I have seen many times since; but it was enough to affect me then, who was but a young sailor, and had never known any thing of the matter. I expected every wave would have swallowed us up, and that every time the ship fell down in the hollow of the sea, we



should never rise more; and in this agony of mind I made many vows and resolutions, that should it please God to spare my life this one voyage, if ever I set foot upon dry land again, I would go directly home, and never enter a ship again while I lived.

These thoughts continued all the while the storm continued, and indeed sometime after; but the next day the wind abated and the sea was calmer, and being no longer sea sick, I began to be more cheerful, looking with wonder upon the sea that was so rough and terrible the day before, and could now be so calm and pleasant. But now, lest my good resolution should continue, my companion who had enticed me away comes to me; "Well, Bob," says he (clapping me on the shoulder), "how do you do? I warrant you were frightened last night, when it blew but a cap-full of wind?" "A cap-full, do you call it?" said I, "it was a terrible storm!" "A storm, you fool," replies he, "do you call that a storm? why, it was nothing at all; give us but a good ship and sea-room, and we think nothing of such a squall as that. You're but a fresh-water sailor, Bob; come, let us make a bowl of punch, and we'll forget all that. Do you see what charming weather it is now?" To make short this part of my story, we went the old way of all sailors; the punch was made, and in that one night I drowned all my reflections upon my past conduct, and all my resolutions for the future.

The sixth day of our being at sea we came into Yarmouth Roads, when we were obliged to come to an anchor; and here we lay, the wind continuing contrary, viz. at south-west, for seven or eight days.

On the eighth day in the morning, the wind increased, and we set all hands at work to strike our top-masts, and make every thing snug and close, that the ship might ride as easy as possible.

It blew a terrible storm; and I began to see terror and amazement in the faces even of the seamen themselves. The master, though he was vigilant in the business of preserving the ship, yet as he went in and out of his cabin, I could hear him say to himself several times, "Lord, be merciful to us! we shall be all lost, we shall be all undone;" and the like. When I heard this, I was dreadfully frightened; I got up out of my cabin, and looked out, but such a dismal sight I never saw; the sea went mountains high, and broke upon us every

three or four minutes; when I could look about, I could see nothing but distress around us; two ships that rode near us, had cut their masts by the board, being deeply laden, and our men cried out, that a ship about a mile a-head of us had foundered.

Towards evening the mate and boatswain begged the master of our ship to let them cut away the fore-mast, which he was very unwilling to do; but the boatswain protesting to him that if he did not the ship would go down, he consented; and when they had cut away the fore-mast, the main-mast stood so loose, and shook the ship so much, that they were obliged to cut that away also, and so make a clear deck.

Any one may judge what a condition I was in all this time, who was but a young sailor, and who had been in such a fright before at but a little. But the worst was not come yet; the storm continued with such fury, that the seamen themselves acknowledged they had never known a worse. Indeed it was so violent, that I saw what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others, at their prayers, expecting every moment that the ship would go to the bottom. In the middle of the night, one of the men cried out that we had sprung a leak; another said there were four feet water in the hold. Then all hands were called to the pump. At this my heart died within me, and I fell back upon the side of my bed where I sat into the cabin. However, the men roused me, and told me that I who was able to do nothing before, was as well able to pump as another; at which I got up, and went to the pump with the rest.

We worked on, but as the water increased in the hold, it was apparent that the ship would founder; and though the storm began to abate a little, yet as it was not possible she should float till we could run into a port, the master continued firing guns for help; and a ship just a-head of us, ventured out a boat to help us. It was with the utmost hazard that the boat came near us, but it was impossible for us to get on board, or for the boat to lie near the ship's side; till at last, their men rowing lustily, our men cast a rope to them over the stern, which they, after great labour and risk, got hold of, and we hauled them close under our stern, and so got all into their boat. It was in vain to think of reaching their ship, so all agreed to pull her in towards shore as much as we could; and our master promised them, that if the boat was staved

upon shore, he would make it good to their master ; so partly rowing and partly driving, our boat went away to the northward, sloping towards the shore almost as far as Winterton-Ness.

We were not much more than a quarter of an hour out of our ship before we saw her sink ; and then I understood for the first time what was meant by a ship foundering at sea. I must acknowledge I had hardly eyes to look up when the seamen told me she was sinking ; for my heart was as it were dead within me, partly with fright, partly with horror of mind, and the thought of what was yet before me.

While we were in this condition, the men yet labouring at the oar to bring the boat near the shore, we could see a great many people running along the shore to assist us when we should come near ; but we made but slow way, nor were we able to reach the land till, being past the light-house at Winterton, the shore falls off to the westward towards Cromer, and so the land broke off a little the violence of the wind. Here we got off all safe on shore, though not without much difficulty, and walked afterwards on foot to Yarmouth, where, as unfortunate men, we were treated with great humanity, and had money given us to carry us either to London or back to Hull, as we thought fit.

For myself, having some money in my pocket, I travelled to London by land ; and there, as well as on the road, had many struggles with myself what course of life I should take, and whether I should go home, or go to sea.

An irresistible reluctance continued to going home, and after a while, the remembrance of the distress I had been in wore off ; and as that diminished, the little desire I had to a return wore off with it, till at last I quite laid aside the thoughts of it, and looked out for another voyage.

It was my lot to fall into pretty good company in London, which does not always happen to such young fellows as I was, the devil generally not omitting to lay some snare for them very early ; but it was not so with me. I became acquainted with the master of a ship who had been on the coast of Guinea, and who, having had very good success there, was resolved to go again ; he, taking a fancy to me, and hearing me say I had a mind to see the world, told me if I would go the voyage with him I should be at no expense, that I should be his messmate and companion ; and if I could take any

goods with me, I should have all the advantage of it that the trade would admit of, and, perhaps, I might meet with some success.

I embraced the offer; and entering into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest and plain-dealing man, I went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me, which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend, I increased very considerably; for I took about 40*l.* in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This 40*l.* I had mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations whom I corresponded with, and who, I believe, got my parents to contribute so much as that to my first adventure.

In this voyage I was tolerably successful, for I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold-dust, which yielded me in London almost 300*l.*

I was now set up for a Guinea trader; and as the captain, to my great misfortune, died soon after his arrival, I resolved to go the same voyage again; and I embarked in the same vessel with one who was his mate in the former voyage, and had now the command of the ship. This was the most unfortunate voyage that ever man made; for, though I did not take with me quite 100*l.* of my new-gained wealth, so that I had 200*l.* left, which I lodged with my friend's widow, yet I fell into great misfortunes.

The first was this: Our ship, making her course between the Canary Islands and the African shore, was surprised, in the grey of the morning, by a Turkish pirate of Sallee, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could carry. We crowded also as much canvass as we could in order to get clear; but finding the pirate gained upon us, and would certainly come up with us in a few hours, we prepared to fight. About three in the afternoon he came up with us, and bringing to, just athwart our quarter, instead of athwart our stern, as he intended, we brought eight of our guns to bear on that side, and poured in a broadside upon him, which made him sheer off again, after returning our fire, and pouring in also his small shot from near 200 men which he had on board. However, we had not a man touched, all our crew keeping close. He prepared to attack us again, and we to defend ourselves; but to cut short this part of our story our ship was disabled, and as three of our men were killed, and eight wounded, we

were obliged to yield, and were carried all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so bad as I at first apprehended, nor was I carried up the country to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but being young and nimble was kept by the captain of the rover, as his own prize, and made his slave.

As my new master had taken me home to his house, so I was in hopes that he would take me with him when he went to sea again, believing that it would some time or other be his fate to be captured by a Spanish or Portuguese man-of-war, and that then I should be set at liberty. But this hope was soon taken away; for when he went to sea, he left me on shore to look after his garden, and do the common drudgery of his house; and when he came home from his cruise, he ordered me to stay in the cabin to look after the ship.

Here I meditated nothing but my escape, but found no way that had the least probability in it, for I had nobody to communicate it to that would embark with me; so that for two years, though I often pleased myself with the imagination, yet I never had the least prospect of putting it in practice.

After about two years, a circumstance presented itself which put the thought again into my head. My master staying at home longer than usual, without fitting out his ship, used, once or twice a week, to take the ship's pinnace, and go out into the road a-fishing, and at such times he always took me and a young Maresco with him to row the boat; and as I proved very dexterous in catching fish, he would sometimes send me with a Moor, one of his kinsmen, and the youth, the Maresco as they called him, to catch some fish for him.

It happened one day that he had appointed to go out in this boat, either for pleasure or for fish, with two or three Moors of some distinction in that place, and had therefore sent on board, over night, a larger store of provisions than ordinary, and had ordered me to get ready three fuseses with powder and shot, as they designed to have some sport in fowling as well as fishing.

I got all things ready, and waited the next morning with the boat washed clean, her pendants out, and every thing to accommodate his guests; when, by-and-by, my master came on board alone, and told me his guests had put off going, and

ordered me, with the man and boy, as usual, to go out with the boat and catch them some fish, for that his friends were to sup at his house : all which I prepared to do.

This moment an idea of deliverance darted into my thoughts, for now I found I was to have a little ship at my command, and my master being gone, I prepared to furnish myself, not for fishing, but for a voyage ; though I knew not as yet whither I should steer.

My first contrivance was to make a pretence to speak to this Moor, in order to get something for our subsistence on board, for I told him we must not presume to eat our patron's bread. He said that was true ; so he brought a large hamper of biscuit, and three jars of fresh water, into the boat. I knew where my patron's case of bottles stood, which it was evident by the make were taken out of some English prize ; and I put them on board while the Moor was on shore, as if they had been there before for our master ; I conveyed also into the boat a great lump of bees' wax, which weighed above half a hundred weight, with a parcel of twine or thread, a hatchet, a saw, and a hammer, all of which were of great use to us afterwards. Another trick I tried upon him, which he innocently fell into also : his name was Ismael, which they call Muly or Moley ; so I said to him—"Muly, our patron's guns are on board the boat ; can you not get a little powder and shot ? it may be we may kill some alcarnies (a fowl like our curlews) for ourselves." "Yes," said he, "I'll bring some ;" and accordingly he brought a great leather pouch, which held about a pound and a half of powder, and another with five or six pounds of shot, and put all into the boat ; at the same time I had found some powder of my master's in the great cabin, with which I filled one of the large bottles in the case ; and thus furnished with every thing needful, we set sail. We were not above a mile out of the port before we hauled in our sail, and prepared to fish : the wind blew from the N.N.E., which was contrary to my desire, for had it blown southerly I had been sure to have made the coast of Spain, and at least reached the bay of Cadiz ; but my resolution was, blow which way it would, I would escape if possible from that horrid place.

After we had fished some time and caught nothing (for when I had fish on my hook I would not pull them up), I said to the Moor, "This will not do ; our master will not be thus

served, we must stand farther off." He, thinking no harm, agreed, and being at the head of the boat set the sails; and as I had the helm, I run the boat out near a league farther, and then brought her to as if I would fish; when, giving the boy the helm, I stept forward to where the Moor was, and making as if I stooped for something behind him, I took him by surprise, and tossed him clear overboard into the sea. He rose immediately, for he swam like a cork, and calling to me, begged to be taken in, telling me he would go all over the world with me. He swam so strong after the boat, that he would have reached me very quickly, there being but little wind, upon which I stept into the cabin, and fetching one of the fowling-pieces, I presented it at him, and told him I had done him no hurt, and if he would be quiet I would do him none. "You swim well enough," said I, "to reach the land, and the sea is calm; make the best of your way to shore, and I will do you no harm; but if you come near the boat I'll shoot you through the head." So he turned himself about, and swam for the shore; and I make no doubt that he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

I would have been content to have taken this Moor, but I dared not trust him. When he was gone, I turned to the boy, who was called Xury, and said to him, "Xury, if you will be faithful to me, I'll make you a great man; but if you will not stroke your face to be true to me," (that is, swear by Mahomet and his father's beard), I must throw you into the sea too." Upon this, the boy smiled in my face, and spoke so innocently that I could not mistrust him; he swore to be faithful to me, and go wherever I chose.

While I was in view of the Moor, I stood out directly to sea with the boat, rather stretching to windward, that they might think me gone towards the Straits' mouth (as indeed any one that had been in their wits must have been supposed to do), for who would have supposed we should sail on to the southward to the Barbarian coast, where we could not go on shore, but were sure to be devoured by savage beasts, or more merciless savages of human kind?

But as soon as it grew dusk, I changed my course, and steered directly south by east, bending a little toward the east, that I might keep in to the shore; and having a fair gale of wind, and a smooth sea, I made such sail that I believe by the next day at three o'clock in the afternoon,

when I first made the land, I could not be less than 150 miles south of Sallee; quite beyond the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, or indeed of any other king thereabouts, for we saw no people.

Yet such was the fright I had taken at the Moors, and the dreadful apprehensions I had of falling into their hands, that I would not go on shore, or come to anchor. The wind continuing fair till I had sailed five days, and then shifting to the southward, I concluded that if any of our vessels were in chase of me, they also would now give over; so I ventured to make to the coast, and come to an anchor in the mouth of a little river, I knew not what, or where; I neither saw, or desired to see any people; the principal thing I wanted was fresh water. We came into this creek in the evening, resolving to swim on shore and discover the country; but as soon as it was quite dark, we heard such dreadful noises of the barking and howling of wild creatures, that the poor boy was ready to die with fear, and begged of me not to go on shore till day. "Well, Xury," said I, "then I won't; but it may be we may see men by day, who will be as bad to us as those savage beasts." "Then we give them the shoot gun," says Xury, laughing; "make them run wey." I was glad to see the boy so cheerful; and as his advice was good, I took it. I dropped our little anchor and lay still all night; but as for sleep we had none, for in two or three hours we saw great creatures (we knew not what to call them) of many sorts come down to the sea-shore and run into the water, wallowing and washing themselves; and they made such hideous howlings and yellings, that I never heard the like.

Xury was dreadfully frightened, and so indeed was I; but we were both more alarmed when we heard one of these creatures come swimming towards our boat: we could not see him, but we might hear him by his blowing to be some monstrous beast. Xury said it was a lion, and it might be so for aught I know; but poor Xury cried to me to weigh anchor and row away. "No," says I, "Xury, we can slip our cable with a buoy to it, and go off to sea, for they cannot follow us far." I had no sooner said so, than I perceived the creature within two oars' length, which somewhat surprised me; however, I immediately stopt to the cabin-door, and taking up my gun, fired at him, upon which he immediately turned about, and swam towards the shore.



It is impossible to describe the hideous cries and howlings that were raised, as well on the edge of the shore, as higher up the country, upon the noise or report of the gun; a thing I believe those creatures had never heard before. This convinced me that there was no going on shore for us in the night upon that coast, and how to venture even in the day was a question; for to have fallen into the hands of the savages, had been as bad as to have fallen into the hands of wild beasts.

However, we were obliged to go on shore somewhere or other for water, for we had not a pint left in the boat. Xury said, if I would let him go on shore with one of the jars, he would find if there was any water, and bring some to me. I asked him why he would go? why I should not go, and he stay in the boat? The boy answered with so much affection that he made me love him ever after, "If wild mans come, they eat me; you go wey." "Well, Xury," said I, "we will both go; and if the wild mans come, we will kill them, and they shall eat neither of us." So we hauled the boat in and waded on shore, carrying nothing but our fire-arms, and two jars for water.

I did not care to go out of sight of the boat, fearing the coming of canoes with savages down the river: but the boy seeing a low place about a mile up the country rambled to it; and by-and-by I saw him come running towards me. I thought he was pursued, and ran forward to help him; but when I came nearer, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, which was a creature he had shot, like a hare, but different in colour, and with longer legs; however, we were very glad of it, and it was very good meat; but the good news that poor Xury came with was, to tell me he had found water, and seen "no wild mans." So we filled our jars, and feasted on the animal we had killed, and prepared to go on our way, having seen no footsteps of any human creature.

As I had been one voyage to this coast before, I knew very well that the Canary and Cape de Verd islands lay not far off from the coast. But as I had no instruments by which to discover what latitude we were in, I knew not where to look for them, or when to stand off to sea towards them; otherwise I might now easily have found some of these islands. But my hope was, that if I stood along this coast till I came to that part where the English traded, I should find some of their vessels, that would relieve and take us in.

I knew that all the ships from Europe, which sailed either to the coast of Guinea or Brazil, or to the East Indies, made this cape, or those islands; and, in a word, I put the whole of my fortune upon this single point; either that I must meet with some ship, or perish.

When I had pursued this resolution about ten days longer, I began to see that the land was inhabited; and in two or three places, as we sailed by, we saw some black people standing upon the shore to look at us. I was once inclined to have gone on shore to them; but Xury was my better counsellor, and said to me, "No go, no go." However, I hauled in nearer the shore, that I might talk to them, and I found they ran along the shore by me a good way. I observed they had no weapons in their hands, except one, who had a long slender stick, which Xury said was one of their lances, and which they could throw a great way with good aim. So I kept at a distance, but made signs as well as I could for something to eat, on which they beckoned to me to stop my boat, and they would fetch me some meat; I then lowered my sail, and lay by, when two of them ran up into the country, and in less than half an hour came back, and brought with them two pieces of dried flesh and some corn. Though we neither knew what the one nor the other was, we were glad to accept it, but how to come at it was our difficulty, for I was not for venturing on shore to them, and they were as much afraid of us; but they took a safe way for us all, for they brought it to the shore and laid it down, and went and stood a great way off till we fetched it on board, and then came close to us again.

We made signs of thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends; and, leaving these friendly negroes, I made forward for about eleven days more, without offering to go near the shore, when one morning Xury on a sudden cried out, "Master, master, a ship with a sail!" and the foolish boy was frightened out of his wits, thinking it must needs be some of his master's ships sent to pursue us, though I knew we were far enough out of their reach. I jumped out of the cabin, and immediately saw not only the ship, but what she was; viz. that it was a Portuguese ship, and, as I concluded, bound to the coast of Guinea.

They, it seems, saw us by the help of their glass, and supposing that it was some European boat belonging to a ship

that had been lost, they shortened sail to let us come up. I was encouraged at this; and as I had my late master's flag on board, I made a waft of it to them for a signal of distress, and fired a gun, upon which they brought to, and waited for me, and in about three hours' time I came up with them.

They asked me what I was, in Portuguese, Spanish, and French, but I understood none of their language; at last a Scotch sailor, who was on board, called to me, and I answered him, and told him that I was an Englishman that had escaped out of slavery from the Moors. Then they bade me come on board, and very kindly took me in, with my boy, and all my goods.

It was an inexpressible joy to me that I was thus delivered, as I esteemed it, from such a miserable and almost hopeless condition, and I immediately offered all I had to the captain of the ship in return; but he generously told me he would take nothing from me, and that all I had should be delivered safe to me when I came to the Brazils; "For," said he, "I have saved your life on no other terms than I would be glad to be saved myself, and it may one time or other be my lot to be taken up in the same condition. Besides," said he, "when I carry you to the Brazils, so great a way from your own country, if I should take from you what you have, you will be starved there, and then I only take away that life I have preserved. No, no, Signor Inglese," added he, "I will carry you thither in charity, and those things will help you to buy your subsistence there, and your passage home again."

As he was charitable in his proposal, so he was just in the performance to a tittle, for he ordered that none of the seamen should touch any thing I had; in fact he took every thing into his own possession, and gave me back an exact inventory of them, even so much as to my three earthen jars.

As to my boat, it was a very good one, and that he saw, and told me he would buy it of me for the ship's use, and asked me what I would have for it? I told him he had been so generous to me that I could not offer to make any price for the boat, but would leave it entirely to him; upon which he told me he would give me a note of ~~land~~ for 90 pieces of eight at Brazil; and when we arrived there, if any one offered to give more, he would make it up. He offered me also 60 pieces of eight more for my boy Xury, which I was loath to take; not that I was unwilling to let the captain have him,

but that I was sorry to sell the poor boy's liberty who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However, when I let him know the reason, he owned it to be just, and made this offer; that he would give the boy an obligation to set him free in ten years, if he turned Christian. Upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the captain have him.

We had a very good voyage to the Brazils, and arrived in All-Saints Bay in about twenty-two days after. The generous treatment of the captain I can never enough remember. He would take nothing for my passage, and caused every thing which I had in the ship to be punctually delivered to me, and what I was willing to sell he bought; in a word, I made about 220 pieces of eight of all my cargo, with which stock I went on shore in the Brazils.

Being recommended by the captain to the house of a good honest man like himself, who had an *Eugenio*, as they call it, that is, a plantation and a sugar-house, I lived with him some time, and acquainted myself with the way of planting and making of sugar; and seeing how well the planters thrived, I determined, if I could get license to settle there, that I would turn planter too, resolving in the mean time to find out some way to get over my money which I had left in London. To this purpose, getting a kind of a letter of naturalisation, I purchased as much land as I could for my money, and formed a plan for my plantation and settlement, such as might be suitable to the stock which I expected to receive from England.

I had a neighbour, a Portuguese of Lisbon, but born of English parents, whose name was Wells, and much in the same circumstances as myself. I call him neighbour, because his plantation lay next to mine, and we went on very sociably together. My stock was but low as well as his, and we rather planted for food than any thing else for about two years. However, we began to increase, and our land to get into order, so that the third year we planted some tobacco, and made each of us a large piece of ground ready for planting canes in the year to come; both wanted help, and now I found, more than before, that I had acted foolishly in parting with my boy Xury.

As it was, I had no remedy but to go on. I had got into an employment directly contrary to the life I delighted in,

and for which I forsook my father's house, and broke through all his good advice; and I used often to say to myself, could have done this as well in England among my friends as have gone five thousand miles off to do it, among strangers in a wilderness, and at such a distance as never to hear from any part of the world that had any knowledge of me. But as I have said, there was nothing for it, but to go on.

I was in some degree settled in my plans for carrying on the plantation before my kind friend, the captain of the ship went back; for the ship remained there, in loading and preparing for the voyage, nearly three months; when, telling him what little stock I had left behind me in London, he gave me this friendly advice. "Signor Inglese," said he, "if you will give me letters to the person who has your money to send your effects to Lisbon, to such persons as I shall direct and in such goods as are proper for this country, I will bring you the produce of them, GOD willing, at my return; but since all human affairs are subject to change, I would have you give orders but for one hundred pounds, which you say is half your stock, and if it come safe, you can order the rest the same way, and if it miscarry, you will still have the other half to have recourse to."

This advice was so good and friendly, that I could not but be convinced it was the best course I could take; so I prepared letters, as he desired, to the gentlewoman with whom I had left my money.

I wrote the English captain's widow a full account of my adventures, my slavery, my escape, and how I had met with the Portuguese captain at sea, the humanity of his behaviour, and what condition I was now in, with all other necessary directions for my supply; and when this honest captain reached Lisbon, he found means, by some of the English merchants there, to send over the order to a merchant at London, to whom she not only delivered the money, but, out of her own pocket, sent the Portuguese captain a very handsome present for his humanity and charity to me.

The merchant in London vesting this hundred pounds in English goods, sent them directly to him at Lisbon, and he brought them all safe to me to the Brazils; among which, without my direction (for I was too young in my business to think of them), he had taken care to have all sorts of tools, iron-work, and utensils necessary for my plantation.

When this cargo arrived, as the goods were all of English manufactures, such as cloth, stuffs, baize, things particularly valuable and desirable in the country, I found means to sell them to great advantage, so that I had more than four times the value of my first cargo, and was now infinitely beyond my neighbour in the advancement of my plantation; for the first thing I did was to buy a negro slave, and a European servant also, besides that which the captain brought me from Lisbon.

And now, increasing in business and in wealth, my head began to be full of projects and undertakings, beyond my reach, such as are, indeed, often the ruin of the best heads in business.

To come to the particulars of this part of my story. You may suppose that, having now lived almost four years in the Brazils, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learned the language, but had contracted acquaintances among my fellow-planters, as well as among the merchants of St. Salvadore, which was our port; and that in my conversations with them I had frequently given them an account of my two voyages to the coast of Guinea, the manner of trading with the negroes there, and how easy it was to purchase upon the coast for trifles,—such as beads, toys, knives, hatchets, and the like,—not only gold-dust, Guinea grains, elephants' teeth, &c., but negroes for the service of the Brazils in great numbers.

It happened one day that, discoursing of those things very earnestly, three of my acquaintances told me they had been musing very much upon what I had so often talked to them of, and that they had a great mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea; that they had all plantations as well as myself, and were straitened for nothing so much as servants; and that as the trade in negroes was one that could not be carried on publicly, so they desired to make but one voyage, to bring the negroes on shore privately, and divide them among their own plantations. The question then was, whether I would go with them in the ship to manage the affair, and, if so, they offered me in return that I should have my equal share of the negroes without providing any part of the stock.

I could no more resist this tempting offer, than I could restrain my first rambling designs when I left my father's house; so I told them I would go with all my heart, if they

would undertake to look after my plantation in my absence, and would dispose of it to such as I should direct, if anything should befall me. This they all promised, and entered into a written agreement to do so; and I made a formal will, disposing of my plantation and effects, in case of my death, making the captain of the ship that had saved my life, as before, my heir, but obliging him to dispose of my effects as I had directed in my will: one-half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be shipped to England.

Our vessel was about 120 tons burthen, carried six guns, and fourteen men, besides the master, his boy, and myself. The same day I went on board we set sail, being the 1st of September (the same day eight years that I went from my father and mother at Hull), and stood away to the northward upon our own coast, designing to stretch over for the African coast when we came about ten or twelve degrees of northern latitude, which was the manner of their course in those days. We had very good weather, only excessively hot, all the way till we came to Cape St. Augustino, from whence, keeping farther off at sea, we lost sight of land, and steered as if we were bound for the island Fernand de Noronha, holding our course N.E. by N. We passed the line in about twelve days' time, and were, by our last observation, in seven degrees twenty-two minutes northern latitude, when a violent hurricane took us quite out of our reckoning: it began from the south-east, went round to the north-west, and then settled into the north-east, from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that for twelve days together we could do nothing but drive before it, and let it carry us whither the fury of the winds directed, during which time I expected every day to be swallowed up, as did all my company in the ship. At last the weather abating a little, the master made an observation, and found that he was in about eleven degrees north latitude, but that he was twenty-two degrees of longitude difference west from Cape St. Augustino; so that he found that he had got upon the coast of Mexico, on the northern part of Brazil, beyond the River Amazons, towards that of the River Oroonoque, commonly called the Great River. He now consulted with me what course he should take, for the ship was so leaky and so much disabled that he was for going direct back to the coast of Brazil.

I was positively against this proposal; and looking over

the charts of the coast with him, we concluded there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to till we came within the circle of the Caribbee Islands; we therefore resolved to stand away for Barbadoes, which, by keeping off at sea, to avoid the indraft of the Bay or Gulf of Mexico, we might easily perform, as we hoped, in about fifteen days' sail, whereas we could not possibly make our voyage to the coast of Africa without some assistance both to our ship and ourselves.

With this design we changed our course, and steered away N.W. by W., in order to reach some of our English islands, where I hoped for relief; but our voyage was otherwise determined; for being in the latitude of twelve deg. eighteen min., a second storm came upon us, which carried us away with the same impetuosity westward, and drove us so out of the way of all human commerce, that had our lives been saved from the sea, we were in danger of being devoured by savages,

In this peril, the wind still blowing very hard, one of our men, early one morning, cried out "land!" and we had no sooner run out to look, in hopes of seeing whereabouts we were, than the ship struck upon a sandbank, and in a moment the sea broke over her in such a manner that we expected we should all have perished forthwith, and we were immediately driven into close quarters, to shelter us from the foam and spray of the sea.

It is not easy for any one who has not been in the like condition to describe or conceive our consternation; we knew nothing of where we were, or upon what land it was we were driven, whether an island or the main, whether inhabited or not; and as the fury of the wind was still great, though rather less than at first, we could not so much as hope that the ship would hold many minutes without breaking in pieces; in a word, we sat looking one upon another, and expecting death every moment, and every man acting accordingly—preparing for another world, for there was little or nothing more for us to do in this: the only comfort we had was that, contrary to our expectation, the ship did not break yet, and that the master said the wind began to abate.

Now, though we found that the wind did a little abate, yet the ship, having struck upon the sand, and sticking too fast for us to expect we should get her off, we were in a dreadful



condition indeed, and had nothing to do but to think of saving our lives as well as we could. We had a boat at the stern before the storm, but she had been staved by dashing against the ship's rudder, and afterwards driven off to sea; so there was no hope from her. We had another boat on board, but how to get her into the sea was a doubtful thing; however, there was no room to debate, for we fancied the ship would break in pieces every minute, and some told us she was actually broken already. The mate laid hold of the boat without delay, and with the help of the rest got her slung over the ship's side, and all getting into her, we let go, and committed ourselves, eleven in number, to God's mercy and the wild sea; for though the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea was still dreadfully high upon the shore. Indeed we all saw plainly that the boat could not live in such a sea, and that we should inevitably be drowned. As to making sail, we had none, nor, if we had, could we have done anything with it; so we worked at the oar towards the land, though with heavy hearts, like men going to execution, for we all knew that, when the boat came nearer the shore, she would be dashed in a thousand pieces upon the beach.

After we had rode, or rather driven, about a league and a half, a raging wave, mountain-like, came rolling astern of us, and took us with such fury, that it capsized the boat at once, and separating us, as well from the boat as from one another, gave us not time so much as to say, O God! for we were all swallowed up in a moment.

Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt when I sank into the water; for though I swam very well, yet I could not free myself from the water so as to draw breath, till a wave, having carried me a vast way on towards the shore, and having spent itself, went back and left me upon the land almost dry, but half dead with the water I had swallowed. I had so much presence of mind, as well as breath left, that, seeing myself nearer the mainland than I expected, I got upon my feet, and endeavoured to make on towards the land as fast as I could, before another wave should return and take me up again. But I soon found it impossible to avoid it; for I saw the sea come after me as high as a great hill, and as furious as an enemy which I had no means or strength to contend with; all I could do was to hold my breath, and raise myself upon the water, and so by

swimming to preserve my breath, and pilot myself towards the shore; my greatest concern now being, that the wave, as it would carry me a great way towards the shore when it came on, might not carry me with it again when it went back towards the sea.

The wave that came upon me again buried me at once twenty or thirty feet deep in its body, and I could feel myself carried with a mighty force and swiftness towards the shore a very great way; but I held my breath, and swam forward still with all my might. I was ready to burst with holding my breath, when, as I felt myself rising up, so, to my immediate relief, I found my head and hands shoot out above the surface of the water, and though it was not two seconds of time that I could keep myself so, yet it relieved me greatly, and gave me breath and new courage. I was covered again with water a good while, but not so long but that I held it out; and finding the water had spent itself, and began to return, I struck forward, and felt ground again with my feet. I stood still a few moments to recover breath, until the water went from me, and then took to my heels and ran with what strength I had onwards towards the shore. But I was not yet secure from the fury of the sea, which came pouring in after me again; and twice more I was lifted up by the waves and carried forward as before.

As the waves were not so high as at first, being near land, I held on till the wave abated, and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away; and the next run I took I got to the main land, where, to my great comfort, I clambered up the shore, and sat down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of the reach of the waves.

Being now safe on shore, I began to look up and thank God that my life was saved. I walked about, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapt up in the contemplation of my deliverance, making a thousand gestures and motions which I cannot describe, reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned; for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any sign of them, except three of their hats, a cap, and two shoes. I cast my eyes to the stranded vessel, but the breach and foam of the sea was so great I could hardly see her she lay so far off—and I considered how it was possible I could have got on shore.

I now began to look around me to see what kind of place I was in, and what was best to be done; and I soon found my comfort abate, and that in fact it was a dreadful deliverance I had had, for I was wet, with no clothes to shift me, nor any thing either to eat or drink; neither did I see any prospect before me but that of perishing with hunger, or being destroyed by wild beasts. I had no weapon to kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creatures that might desire to kill me for theirs: in a word, all I had about me was a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box; and this threw me into such an agony of mind, that for a while I ran about like a madman. Night coming upon me, I began with a heavy heart to consider what would be my lot if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing that at night they always come abroad for their prey.

All I could think of was, to get up into a thick bushy tree like a fir, which grew near me, and where I resolved to remain all night. I walked about a furlong from the shore to see if I could find any fresh water to drink, which I did, to my great joy; and having drank and put a little tobacco in my mouth to prevent hunger, I went to the tree, and getting up into it, endeavoured to place myself so as that if I should sleep I might not fall; and having cut a short stick like a club for my defence, I took up my lodging, and being excessively fatigued, was soon fast asleep.

When I awoke it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before; but that which surprised me most was, that the ship had been lifted off in the night from the sand where she lay by the swelling of the tide, and was now driven to within a mile from the shore where I was, and as she seemed to stand partly out of the water still, I wished myself on board, that I might, if possible, save some necessary things for my use.

The next thing I saw was the boat, which lay as the wind and the sea had tossed her up upon the land, about two miles on my right hand. I walked as far as I could upon the shore to get to it, but found a neck of water between, about half a mile broad; so I came back for the present, being more intent upon getting at the ship, where I hoped to find something for my present subsistence.

A little after noon I found the sea calm, and the tide so far

out that I could get within a quarter of a mile of the ship. And here I found a fresh cause of grief; for I saw evidently that if we had kept on, we should have all got safe on shore, and I should not have been so entirely destitute of all comfort and company as I now was. This forced tears from my eyes again; but as there was little relief in that, I resolved, if possible, to get to the ship; so I pulled off my clothes and took to the water. On reaching her I swam round her, until I spied a small piece of a rope hang down by the fore-chains so low that with some difficulty I laid hold of it, and by this means got up into the ship. Here I found that the vessel, though she had a great deal of water in her hold, lay on the side of a bank of hard sand, in such a way that a good part of her was dry, and much of the provisions were untouched by the water. Being very hungry, I went to the bread-room and filled my pockets with biscuit, and eat it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose. I also found some rum in the great cabin, of which I took a large glass, which indeed I had need enough of to prepare me for what was before me. I wanted nothing now but a boat to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very useful to me. But as it was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had, I set about supplying the deficiency. There were several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare topmast or two in the ship. I resolved to begin with these, and flung as many of them overboard as I could manage, tying every one with a rope, that it might not float away. Next I went down the ship's side, and pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast together at both ends in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them crossways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light; so with the carpenter's saw I cut a spare topmast into three lengths and added them to my raft, which I found was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight. My next care was to load it, and then to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea. To this end I laid all the planks upon it that I could get, and then got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon the raft. The first of these I filled with provisions; namely, bread, rice, Dutch cheese, pieces of dried goat's flesh, and a little remainder of

European corn which had been laid by for some fowls which we brought to sea with us. I then secured some cases of bottles which had belonged to the captain, in which were some cordial waters, in all about five or six gallons of rack. While I was thus occupied, I found the tide began to flow, though very calmly, and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore upon the sand, float away. This set me upon rummaging for clothes, of which I found enough, but I took no more than I wanted for present use, for there were other things upon which I was more intent. First, there were tools to work with on shore; and after long searching I found out the carpenter's chest, which was indeed a very useful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ship load of gold would have been at that time.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms. There were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols; these I secured first, with some powder-horns and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, and with much search I found them. Two were dry and good, the third wet. The two first I got to my raft with the arms; and now I thought myself well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with them, having neither sail, oar, or rudder, while the least capful of wind would have upset my whole craft.

I had three things in my favour: first, a smooth, calm sea; second, the tide rising and setting into the shore; third, what little wind there was blew me towards the land. And thus, having found two or three broken oars belonging to the boat, I put to sea. For a mile or thereabouts my raft went very well, only that I found it drive a little distant from the place where I had landed before, by which I perceived that there was some current of the water, and consequently I hoped to find some creek or river which I might make use of as a port to get to land.

As I imagined, so it was; there appeared before me a little opening in the land, and I found a strong tide set into it, so I guided my raft as well as I could to keep in the middle of the stream; but here I had like to have suffered a second shipwreck, for knowing nothing of the coast, one end of my raft ran aground upon a shoal, and it wanted but a little that all my cargo had slipped off towards that end that was afloat,

and so fallen into the water. I did my utmost to keep them in their places, but could not thrust off the raft with my strength; at last the water rising, my raft floated again, and I thrust her off with the oar into the channel; and then driving up higher, I at length found myself in the mouth of a little river, with land on both sides and a strong current running up. I looked on both sides for a proper place to get to shore, for I was not willing to be driven too high up the river, hoping in time to see some ship at sea, and therefore I resolved to place myself as near the coast as I could.

At length I spied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great difficulty, I guided my raft, and at last got so near that, reaching ground with my oar, I thrust her in upon a flat piece of ground, and there fastened or moored her by sticking my two broken oars into the ground, one on one side, and the other on the other; and thus I remained until the water ebbed away, and left my raft and all my cargo safe on shore.

My next work was to view the country, and seek a proper place for my habitation, and where to stow my goods. Where I was I yet knew not: whether on the continent or an island; whether inhabited or not; whether in danger of wild beasts or not. There was a hill not above a mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seemed to overtop some other hills which lay as in a ridge from it northward. I took out one of the fowling-pieces and one of the pistols, and a horn of powder; and thus armed, I travelled for discovery up to the top of the hill, where, to my great affliction, I saw my fate—namely, that I was on an island, and no land to be seen except some rocks which lay a great way off, and two small islands less than this, which lay about nine or ten miles to the west.

I found, also, that the island I was on was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of whom, however, I saw none; yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds, nor what was fit for food, and what not. At my coming back I shot at a great bird which I saw sitting upon a tree on the side of a wood. I believe it was the first gun that had been fired there since the creation of the world. I had no sooner fired but from all parts of the wood there arose an innumerable number of fowls of many sorts, making a confused screaming and crying, every one

according to his usual note but not one of them of any kind that I knew. As for the creature I killed, I took it to be a kind of hawk, its colour and beak resembling it, but it had no talons or claws more than common : its flesh was carrion, and good for nothing.

Satisfied for the present, I came back to my raft, and set to work to bring my cargo on shore, which took me up the rest of that day ; and at night I barricaded myself round, as well as I could, with the chests and boards that I had brought on shore, and made a kind of a hut for that night's lodging. As for food, I saw no way as yet to supply myself, except that I had seen two or three creatures, like hares, run out of the wood where I shot the large bird.

I now began to consider that I might still get a great many things out of the ship which would be useful to me ; and I therefore resolved to make another voyage to it if possible ; and as I knew that the first storm that blew must necessarily break her all in pieces, I resolved to do nothing else till I had got everything out of her that I could.

I got on board the ship as before, and prepared a second raft ; and having had experience, I neither made this so unwieldy as the first, nor loaded it so much, but nevertheless I brought away several things very useful to me. In the carpenter's stores I found two or three bags full of nails and spikes, a great screw-jack, a dozen or two of hatchets, and above all, that most useful thing—a grindstone. All these I secured, together with several things belonging to the gunner, particularly two or three iron crows, and two barrels of musket bullets, seven muskets, and another fowling-piece, with some small quantity of powder, and a large bag full of small shot. Besides these things, I took all the men's clothes that I could find, and a spare fore-topsail, hammock, and some bedding ; and with this I loaded my raft, and brought them all safe on shore, to my very great satisfaction.

Having thus got my second cargo on shore, though I was inclined to open the barrels of powder, and bring them by parcels (for they were too heavy, being large casks), I went to work to make a little tent with the sail and some poles which I cut for that purpose, and into this I carried everything that I knew would spoil either with rain or sun, and piled all the empty chests and casks up in a circle round the tent, to fortify it from any sudden attempt either from man or beast.

When I had done this, I blocked up the door of the tent with some boards within, and an empty chest set up on end without; and spreading one of the beds upon the ground, laying my two pistols at my head, and my gun beside me, I went to bed for the first time, and slept soundly all night, for I was very weary and heavy.

I had the largest magazine of all kinds now that ever were laid up, I believe, for one man; but I was not yet satisfied; for I thought I ought to get everything out of the ship that I could; so every day at low water I went on board, and brought away something or other; but particularly the third time I went, I brought away as much of the rigging as I could, as also all the small ropes and rope twine I could get, with a piece of spare canvass to mend the sails, and the barrel of wet gunpowder; in short, I brought away all the sails first and last, only that I cut them in pieces, and brought as much at a time as I could, for they were no more useful to me as sails, but only as mere canvass.

But that which comforted me more still was, that after I had made five or six such voyages as these, and thought I had nothing more to expect from the ship that was worth taking, I found a great hogshead of bread, three large runlets of rum or spirits, a box of sugar, and a barrel of fine flour, which was surprising to me, as I had given over expecting any more provisions, except what was spoiled by the water. I soon emptied the hogshead of the bread, and wrapped it up, parcel by parcel, in pieces of the sails. All this I got safe on shore also.

Having now emptied the ship of all that was portable, I began with the cables; and cutting them into pieces such as I could move, I got two cables and a hawser on shore, with all the iron-work I could find; and having cut down the mizen-yard, and everything I could to make a large raft, I loaded it with all these heavy goods, and came away. But here my good luck began to forsake me; for this raft was so unwieldy and so overladen, that after I had entered the little cove where I had landed the rest of my goods, not being able to guide it so easily as I did the other, it upset, and threw me and all my cargo into the water. For myself it was no great matter, for I was near the shore; but as to my cargo, great part of it was lost, especially the iron, which would have been of great use to me; however, when the tide was out, I got



most of the pieces of calico ashore, and even some of the iron, though with infinite labour.

I made one more journey to the ship, and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually that nothing more could be found, yet I discovered a locker with drawers, in one of which I found two or three razors, and a pair of large scissors, with some ten or a dozen good knives and forks; and in another, about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some Brazil, some pieces of eight, some gold, some silver.

I smiled to myself at the sight of this. "O Drug," said I, "what art thou good for? thou art not worth to me as much as the taking off the ground; one of these knives is worth all this heap: I have no manner of use for thee, even remain where thou art, and go to the bottom, as a creature whose life is not worth saving." However, upon second thoughts, I took it away, and wrapping all in a piece of canvass, I began to think of making another raft; but while I was preparing it, I found the sky began to over-cast, and the wind to rise; and in a quarter of an hour it blew a gale from the shore. It then occurred to me that as it was in vain for me to try to make a raft with the wind off shore, I had better be gone before the flood tide began, as otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all; accordingly, I let myself down into the water, and swam across the channel which lay between the ship and the sands, and even that with difficulty enough, partly on account of the weight of things I had about me, and partly from the roughness of the water; for the wind rose rapidly, and before it was quite high water it blew a storm.

But I had got home to my little tent, where I lay with all my wealth about me very secure. It blew very hard all that night; and in the morning, when I looked out, no ship was to be seen! I was a little surprised, but consoled myself with this satisfactory reflection, viz. that I had lost no time, nor spared any diligence to get every thing out of her that could be useful to me, and that indeed there was little left to bring away even if I had had more.

My thoughts were now employed about securing myself against savages or wild beasts, if any were in the island; and I had many thoughts as to the best methods of doing this, and what kind of dwelling to make; whether I should make a

cave in the earth, or a tent upon the ground; and in short, I resolved upon both, of the description of which I must now give an account.

I soon found the place I was in was not suited for my abode, for it was upon a low moorish ground, near the sea, and I believed would not be wholesome, more especially as there was no fresh water near it; so I resolved to find a better spot.

I considered several things which would be proper for me in my situation: 1st, health and fresh water, which I just now mentioned; 2ndly, shelter from the heat of the sun; 3rdly, security from ravenous creatures, whether man or beast; 4thly, a view of the sea,—that if God sent any ship in sight, I might not lose any chance of my deliverance, of which I was not willing yet to give up all expectation.

At last I found a little plain on the side of a rising hill, the front of which was as steep as a wall, so that nothing could come down upon me from the top; on the side of this rock there was a hollow place, worn a little way in, like the entrance or door of a cave. On the flat of the green, just in front of this, I resolved to pitch my tent. This plain was not above a hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, and at the end it descended irregularly every way down into the low grounds by the sea-side. It was on the N.N.W. side of the hill, so that I was sheltered from the heat every day till it came to W. by S. sun, or thereabouts, which in these countries is near the setting.

Before I set up my tent, I drew a half circle before the hollow place, in which I pitched two rows of strong stakes, and drove them into the ground till they stood very firm, like piles, the biggest end being out of the ground about five foot and a half, and sharpened at the top, and the two rows standing about six inches from one another.

Then I took the pieces of cable, and laid them in rows one upon another, within the circle between these two rows of stakes, up to the top, placing other stakes in the inside, leaning against them, about two feet and a half high, like support to a post. This fence was so strong, that neither man nor beast could get into it or over it; but it cost me a great deal of time and labour, especially to cut the piles in the woods, bring them to the place, and drive them into the earth.

The entrance into this place I made to be not by a door, but by a short ladder to go over the top; which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me; and so I was completely fenced in and fortified, as I thought, from all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which otherwise I could not have done.

Into this fortress, with infinite toil, I carried all my riches, all my provisions, ammunition, and stores; and I constructed a large tent, which, to secure me from the rains, I made double, viz. one smaller tent within, and one larger tent above it, covering the uppermost with a large tarpaulin which I had saved among the sails. Into this tent I brought all my provisions, and every thing that would spoil by the wet; and having thus got in all my goods, I closed up the entrance, which till now I had left open, and so passed and repassed, as I said, by a short ladder.

When I had done this, I began to work my way into the rock; and bringing all the earth and stones that I dug down, out through my tent, I laid them up within my fence in the way of a terrace, so that it raised the ground within about a foot and a half; and thus I made a cave just above my tent, which served as a cellar to my house.

While all this was doing, I went out once at least every day with my gun, as well to divert myself as to see if I could kill any thing fit for food, and also to acquaint myself with what the island produced. The first time I went out, I quickly discovered that there were goats in the island, which was a great satisfaction to me, and the first shot I made I was lucky enough to kill a she goat; she had a little kid by her, and when the old one fell the kid stood stock still till I came and took her up; and not only so, but when I carried the old one with me upon my shoulders, the kid followed me quite to my enclosure, upon which I laid down the dam, and took the kid in my arms, and carried it over my pale, in hopes to breed it up tame. It would not eat, however, so I was forced to kill it, and eat it myself: these two supplied me with flesh a great while, for I ate sparingly, and saved my provisions (my bread especially) as much as I possibly could.

Having now fixed my habitation, I found it necessary to provide a place for a fire, and fuel to burn; and what I did for that, as also how I enlarged my cave, and what conveniences I made, I shall give a full relation of in its place;

but I must first give some little account of myself, and of my thoughts about my future mode of life, which it may well be supposed were not few.

I had in truth a dismal prospect before me ; for as I was not only cast away upon an island, but also driven by a violent storm quite out of the course of our intended voyage, and many hundreds of leagues out of the ordinary course of the trade of mankind, I had great reason to consider it to be the will of Heaven, that in this desolate place, and in this desolate manner, I should end my life. The tears ran plentifully down my face when I made these reflections, and sometimes I would wonder with myself why God should thus render His creatures so absolutely miserable, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for such an existence. But something always returned quickly upon me to check these thoughts, and to reprove me ; and particularly one day when walking with my gun in my hand by the sea-side, I was musing on the subject of my present condition, reason, as it were, expostulated with me the other way, thus : " Well, you are in a desolate condition, it is true ; but remember, where are the rest of you ? Where there not eleven of you in the boat ? Where are the ten ? Why were you singled out ? " and then I looked towards the sea. Thus I reasoned with myself, and concluded that all evils must be considered with the good that is in them, and with what worse might attend them.

It occurred to me, moreover, how well I was furnished for my subsistence, and how dreadful my case would have been if it had not happened that the ship floated from the place where she first struck, and was driven so near the shore that I had time to get all these things out of her. What should I have done without a gun, without ammunition, without any tools to make any thing, or to work with ; without clothes, bedding, tent, or any manner of covering ?

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## CHAPTER II.



AND now being about to enter into a relation of a course of solitary life, such as perhaps was never heard of in the world before, I shall take it from its beginning, and continue it in its order.

It was then the 30th of September, on which I first set foot upon this island, when the sun being, to us, in its autumnal equinox, was almost just over my head; for I reckoned myself, by observations, to be in the latitude of 9 deg. and 22 min. north of the line. After I had been here about ten or twelve days, it came into my thoughts,

that I should lose my reckoning of time for want of books, and pen and ink, and should even forget the Sundays from the working-days: so to prevent this, I cut it with my knife upon a large post in capital letters, and making it into a great cross, I set it up on the shore where I first landed, with this inscription: *30th September, 1659.* Upon the sides of this post I cut every day a notch, and every seventh notch was at a greater distance than the rest, and at every first month there was a greater space still: and thus I kept my calendar of time.

In the next place I must observe, that among the many things which I brought out of the ship I got several things of less value, but not less useful to me; as pens, ink, and paper, mathematical instruments, prospect glasses, charts, and books

of navigation; also, I found three Testaments, which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things; some Portuguese books also, and among them two or three books of devotion, and several other works, all which I carefully secured. Nor must I forget to mention that I got from the ship a dog and two cats, of whose history I may have occasion to say something in its place. The cats I carried with me; as for the dog, he jumped out of the ship of himself, and swam on shore to me the day after I landed with my first cargo.

I now began to consider seriously my condition, and the circumstances I was reduced to, and I drew up the state of my affairs in writing; not so much to leave them to any that were to come after me, as to prevent my thoughts from daily poring upon them, and afflicting my mind; and as my reason began now to master my despondency, I began to comfort myself, and to set the good against the evil, for which purpose I stated in opposite columns, like debtor and creditor, the comforts I enjoyed against the miseries I suffered, thus:

## EVIL.

I am cast upon a desolate island, out of all hope of recovery.

I am singled out, and separated, as it were, from all the world, to be miserable.

I am divided from mankind, and banished from human society.

I have no prospect of a supply of clothes to cover me.

I am without any defence or means to resist any violence of man or beast.

## GOOD.

But I am alive; and not drowned, as all my companions were.

But I am singled out too from all the ship's crew to be spared from death; and He that saved me from death can deliver me from this condition.

But I am not left to perish on a barren place, affording no sustenance.

But I am in a hot climate, where if I had clothes, I could hardly wear them.

But I am cast on an island where I see no creature which is likely to hurt me.

## EVIL.

I have no soul to speak to,  
or to relieve me.

## GOOD.

But GOD wonderfully sent  
the ship so near to the shore,  
that I have got out what  
will supply my wants, or  
enable me to supply myself  
as long as I live.

Having now brought my mind a little to relish my condition, and given over looking out, to see if I could spy any ship, I began to arrange my way of living, and to make things as comfortable as I could.

I have already described my habitation, which was a tent under the side of a rock, surrounded with a strong pale of posts and cables; but I might now rather call it a wall, for I raised a kind of wall up against it, of turf, about two feet thick on the outside; and after some time—I think it was a year and a half—I raised rafters from it, leaning to the rock, and thatched or covered it with boughs of trees, and such things as I could get to keep out the rain, which I found at some times of the year very violent.

I have already described how I brought all my stores into this pale, and into the cave which I had made behind. At first this was a confused heap of goods, which, as they lay in no order, took up all my space, so that I had no room to turn myself. I set to work, therefore, to enlarge my cave, and work farther into the earth: and so when I found I was pretty safe as to beasts of prey, I worked sideways to the right hand into the rock, and then turning to the right again, worked quite through, and made a door to come out, on the outside of my pale or fortification. This gave me not only a backway, as it were, to my tent and to my storehouse, but also room to store my goods.

And now I began to make such useful things as I most wanted, particularly a chair and a table, for without these I could not easily write or eat, or enjoy the few comforts I had:

So I went to work; I had never handled a tool in my life, but yet in time, by labour and application, I found that I was able to make all I needed.

I made first a table and a chair, as I have said, and this I did out of the short pieces of board which I brought on my

raft from the ship; then when I had wrought out some boards I made large shelves, of the breadth of a foot and a half, one over another, all along one side of my cave, to lay my tools, nails, and iron-work on, and to arrange every thing, that I might get easily at what I wanted; also I knocked pieces into the wall of the rock to hang my guns and other things upon. At last my cave looked like a general magazine of all necessary things; and I had every thing so ready at my hand, that it was a great pleasure to me to see all my goods in such order, and above all, to find my stock of necessaries so great.

And now, having settled my household-stuff and habitation, and made all as handsome about me as I could, I began to keep a journal of every day's employment, of which I shall here give a copy as long as it lasted; for having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off after a time.

### THE JOURNAL.

*September 30, 1659.*—I, poor Robinson Crusoe, being shipwrecked, during a dreadful storm, came on shore on this solitary island, which I called the Island of Despair, all the rest of the ship's company being drowned.

My proceedings, up to the time of finishing my habitation, having been already described, I purposely omit what was said about them; it is sufficient to observe, that I was occupied from the 3rd of January to the 14th of April working and perfecting my wall, though it was no more than about twenty-four yards in length, being a half circle from one place in the rock to another place about eight yards from it, the door of the cave being in the centre behind it.

During this time I made my rounds in the woods for game every day, when the rain permitted, and made frequent discoveries in these walks of something or other to my advantage. Particularly I found a kind of wild pigeon; and taking some young ones, I endeavoured to breed them up tame, and did so; but when they grew older they flew away, which perhaps was at first for want of feeding them, for I had nothing to give them; however, I frequently found their nests, and got their young ones, which were very good meat.

And now, in managing my household affairs, I found myself



wanting in many things; among others I was at a great loss for candle, so that as soon as ever it was dark, which was generally by seven o'clock, I was obliged to go to bed. The only remedy I had was, that when I had killed a goat, I saved the tallow, and with a little dish made of clay, which I baked in the sun, to which I added a wick of some oakum, I made a lamp; and this gave me light, though not a clear, steady light, like a candle.

In the midst of all my labours it happened that, rummaging among my things, I found a little bag, which had been filled with corn for the feeding of poultry. What little remainder of corn had been in the bag, was all devoured by the rats, and I saw nothing in the bag but husks and dust; and wishing to have the bag for some other use, I shook the husks of corn out of it on one side of my fortification under the rock.

It was a little before the great rains just now mentioned that I threw this stuff away, taking no notice of it, and not so much as remembering that I had thrown any thing there, when about a month after I saw a few stalks of something green shooting out of the ground, which I fancied might be some plant I had not seen; but I was greatly astonished when, after a little time, I saw about ten or twelve ears come out of perfect green barley, of the same kind as our English barley.

It is impossible to express my thoughts on this occasion. I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all; indeed, I had very few notions of religion in my head, or had entertained any sense of any thing that had befallen me otherwise than as a chance, or, as we lightly say, what pleases God, without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence in these things, or His order in governing events in the world; but after I saw barley grow there, in a climate which I knew was not proper for corn, and especially as I knew not how it came there, it startled me strangely, and I began to think that God had miraculously caused this grain to grow without any help of seed sown, and that it was so directed purely for my sustenance in that wild place. This touched my heart, and brought tears into my eyes, and I began to bless myself that such a prodigy of nature should happen upon my account; and this was the more strange to me, because I saw near it, all along by the side of the rock, some straggling stalks of rice, which I knew, because I had seen it grow in Africa when I was ashore there.

I not only thought these the pure productions of Providence for my support, but, not doubting but that there was more in the place, I went all over that part of the island where I had been before, peeping in every corner, and under every rock, to see for more of it, but I could not find any; at last it suddenly occurred to me that I had shaken a bag of chickens' meat out in that place, and then the wonder began to cease, and I must confess my religious thankfulness to God's providence began to abate too, on discovering that all this was nothing but what was common. I ought, however, to have been equally thankful, for it was really the work of Providence as regarded me, to order so that ten or twelve grains of corn should remain unspoiled when the rats had destroyed all the rest, as if it had been dropped from heaven; as also, that I should throw it in that particular place where, being in the shade of a high rock, it sprang up immediately; whereas, if I had thrown it any where else at that time, it would have been burnt up and destroyed.

I carefully saved the ears of this corn in their season, which was about the end of June; and laying up every one, I resolved to sow them all again, hoping in time to have sufficient to supply me with bread; but it was not till the fourth year that I would allow myself any of this corn to eat, and even then but sparingly, as I shall afterwards relate; for I lost all that I sowed the first season by not observing the proper time, having sowed it just before the dry season, so that it never came up as it should have done.

*April 16.*—Having finished my ladder, I went up with it to the top, and then pulled it up after me, and let it down on the inside. This was a complete enclosure to me; for within I had room enough; and nothing could enter from without, unless it first mounted my wall.

The very next day I was near having all my labour overthrown at once, and myself killed. As I was busy in the inside, just in the entrance of my cave, on a sudden I found the earth come crumbling down from the roof, and from the edge of the hill, over my head, and I saw that two of the posts I had set up in the cave were cracking in a frightful manner. I was terribly scared, but thought not of what was really the cause, only thinking that the top of the cave was falling in, as some of it had done before, and for fear I should be buried in it, I ran forward to my ladder, and not thinking

myself safe there either, I got over my wall, for fear of the pieces of the hill, which I expected to roll down upon me. I had no sooner stepped down upon the firm ground than I plainly saw it was an earthquake, for the ground I stood on shook three times at about eight minutes' interval, with such shocks as would have overturned the strongest building; and a great piece of the top of a rock which stood about half a mile from me next the sea, fell down with such a terrible noise that I had never heard the like of in my life: I perceived also that the very sea was put into violent motion by it.

While I sat thus, the sky grew cloudy and overcast, as if it would rain; soon after that the wind rose by degrees, so that in less than half an hour it blew a dreadful hurricane. The sea was all on a sudden covered over with foam, the shore was deluged with the waves, the trees were torn up by the roots, and this storm continued about three hours, after which it began to abate, and in two hours more it was quite calm, and began to rain very hard.

This violent rain forced me to a new work; viz. to cut a hole through my new fortification, like a sink, to let the water go out, which would else have drowned my cave. After I had been in my cave some time, and found no more shocks of the earthquake follow, I began to be more composed; and now, to support my spirits, I went to my little store and took a small portion of rum, which, however, I did then and always very sparingly, knowing I could have no more when that was gone.

It continued raining all that night and great part of the next day, so that I could not stir abroad; but my mind being more composed, I began to think of what I had best do, concluding that, if the island was subject to these earthquakes, there would be no living for me in a cave, but I must consider of building some little hut in an open place, which I might surround with a wall as I had done here, and so make myself secure from wild beasts or men; concluding, if I stayed where I was, I should certainly, one time or other, be buried alive.

With these thoughts I resolved to remove my tent from the spot where it stood, which was just under the hanging precipice of the hill; and I spent the next two days, being the 19th and 20th of April, in contriving where and how to remove my habitation.

In the mean time it occurred to me, that it would require a vast deal of time for me to do this, and that I must be contented to run the risk where I was till I had formed a camp for myself, and had secured it so as to remove it; so with this resolution I composed myself for a time, and resolved that I would go to work with all speed to build a wall with piles and cables, &c., in a circle as before, and set my tent up in it when it was finished, but that I would venture to stay where I was till it was finished and fit to remove to.

*April 30.*—Perceiving that my bread had been getting low for some time I took a survey of it, and reduced myself to one biscuit-cake a day, which made my heart very heavy.

*May 1.*—In the morning, looking towards the sea, the tide being low, I saw something on the shore which looked like a cask. When I came to it, I found a small barrel, and two or three pieces of the wreck of the ship, which had been driven on shore by the late hurricane, and looking towards the wreck itself, I thought it seemed to be higher out of the water than it used to be. I examined the barrel which was driven on shore, and soon found it was a barrel of gunpowder, but it had got wetted, and the powder was caked as hard as a stone; however, I rolled it farther on shore for the present, and went upon the sand, as near as I could to the wreck of the ship, to look for more.

When I came down to the ship, I found it strangely removed, and that, whereas there was a great place of water before, so that I could not come within a quarter of a mile of the wreck without swimming, I could now walk quite up to her when the tide was out. I was surprised with this at first, but soon concluded it must have been caused by the earthquake; and as by this violence the ship was more broken open than formerly, so many things came daily on shore which the sea had loosened, and which the winds and water rolled by degrees to the land.

This diverted my thoughts from the design of removing my habitation; and as I had learned not to despair of any thing, I resolved to pull every thing to pieces that I could of the ship, concluding that every thing I could get from her would be of use to me at some time or other.

*May 5.*—Worked on the wreck, cut two beams asunder, and brought three great fir planks off from the decks, which I tied together, and made to float on shore when the tide came in.

*May 24.*—Every day up to this time I worked on the wreck, and with hard labour loosened some things so much with the crow, that the first tide several casks floated out, and two of the seamen's chests; but the wind blowing from the shore, nothing came to land that day but pieces of timber, and a hog'shead which had some Brazil pork in it, but spoiled by the salt water and sand.

I continued this work to the 15th of June, by which time I had got timber and plank and iron-work enough to build a good boat, if I had known how; and I got also, at several times and in several pieces, almost a hundred weight of sheet-lead.

I had been now in the island above ten months. All possibility of deliverance seemed now to be entirely taken away; and I firmly believed that no human shape had ever set foot upon that place. Having now secured my habitation as I thought to my mind, I had a great desire to make a more perfect survey of the island, and to see what other productions I might find, which as yet I knew nothing of.

Accordingly, on the 15th of July I began my tour of discovery. I went up the creek first, where I brought my rafts on shore. I found, after I got about two miles up, that the tide did not flow any higher, and that it was no more than a little brook of running water, and very fresh and good. On the bank of this brook I found many pleasant savannas, or meadows, plain, smooth, and covered with grass; and on the rising parts of them, next to the higher grounds, where the water, as it might be supposed, never overflowed, I found a great deal of tobacco, green, and growing to a great and very strong stalk, besides many other plants, of which I had no knowledge.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the same way again; and, after going something farther than I had done the day before, I found the brook and the meadows began to cease, and the country became more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits, and particularly melons, in great abundance upon the ground, and grapes upon the trees; the vines had spread indeed over the trees, and the clusters of grapes were just now in their prime, very ripe and rich. This was a surprising discovery, and I was exceedingly glad of them; but I was warned by my experience to eat sparingly, remembering that when I was ashore in Barbary, the

eating of grapes killed several of our Englishmen who were slaves there, by throwing them into fluxes and fevers; but I found an excellent use for these grapes, and that was, to cure or dry them in the sun, and keep them like dried grapes or raisins, which I thought would be, as indeed they were, wholesome, and agreeable to eat, when no grapes might be had.

I spent all that evening there, and did not return to my habitation, which, by the way, was the first night, as I may say, I had passed from home. In the night I got up into a tree, where I slept well, and the next morning proceeded on my journey, travelling nearly four miles, as I judged, keeping still due north, with a ridge of hills on the south and north side of me.

At the end of this march I came to an opening, where the country seemed to descend to the west; and a little spring of fresh water, which issued out of the side of the hill by me, ran the other way, that is, due east; and the country appeared so fresh, so green, so flourishing, every thing being in a constant verdure or flourishing of spring, that it looked like a planted garden.

I descended a little on the side of that delicious valley, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure (though mixed with other afflicting thoughts) to think that this was all my own, that I was king and lord of all this country, and had a right of possession; and if I could convey it, I might have it in inheritance, as completely as any lord of a manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa-trees, orange, and lemon, and citron-trees, but all wild, and few bearing any fruit, at least not then; however, the green limes that I gathered were not only pleasant to eat, but very wholesome; and I mixed their juice afterwards with water, which made it very cool and refreshing.

I found now I had business enough to gather and carry home; and I resolved to lay up a store, as well of grapes as of limes and lemons, to furnish myself for the wet season, which I knew was approaching. In order to do this, I gathered a heap of grapes in one place, and a lesser heap in another place, and likewise a great parcel of limes and lemons; and taking a few of each with me, I travelled homeward, and resolved to come again, and bring a bag or sack, to carry the rest away.

Accordingly, having spent three days in this journey, I returned to my tent and my cave; but before I got thither the grapes were spoiled; the richness of the fruit, and the weight of the juice, having broken them, and bruised them, they were good for little or nothing; as to the limes, they were good, but I could bring but a few.

The next day, being the 19th, I went back, having made two small bags to bring home my harvest. I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out branches of the trees, that they might cure and dry in the sun; and as for the limes and lemons, I took as many back as I could well carry.

When I came home from this journey, I contemplated with great pleasure the fruitfulness of that valley, and the pleasantness of the situation, the security from storms on that side of the water, and the wood; and concluded that I had pitched upon a place to fix my abode which was the worst part of the country. On the whole, I began to think of removing my habitation, and looking out for a place equally safe as where I now was situated, if possible, in that pleasant fruitful part of the island.

This thought ran long in my head, and I was very fond of it for some time, the pleasantness of the place tempting me; but when I came to a nearer view of it, and to consider that I was now by the sea-side, where it was at least possible that something might happen to my advantage, and that the same ill fate that brought me hither might bring some other unhappy persons to the same place; and though it was scarcely probable that any such thing should ever happen, yet to enclose myself among the hills and woods, in the centre of the island, was to render such an affair not only improbable but impossible, and that therefore I ought not by any means to remove.

However, I was so enamoured of this place, that I spent much of my time there for the remaining part of the month of July; and though, upon second thoughts, I resolved not to remove, yet I built myself a little kind of a bower, and surrounded it at a distance with a strong fence, being a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked, and filled between with brushwood. And here I remained very securely sometimes two or three nights together, always going over it with a ladder, like the other; so that I fancied now I had

my country-house and my sea-coast house; and this work took me up to the beginning of August.

From the 14th of August to the 26th, incessant rain, so that I could not stir out. During this confinement I worked daily two or three hours at enlarging my cave; and, by degrees, worked it on till I came to the outside of the hill, and made a way out, beyond my fence or wall, and so I came in and out this way. But I was not perfectly easy at being so open; for as I had managed myself before, I was in a perfect enclosure, whereas now I thought I was exposed; and yet I could not perceive that there was any living thing to fear, the biggest creature that I had seen upon the island being a goat.

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### CHAPTER III.



I HAD now come to the unhappy anniversary of my landing. I cast up the notches on my post, and found I had been on shore 365 days. I kept this day as a solemn fast, setting it apart to a religious exercise, prostrating myself on the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessing my sins to God, acknowledging His righteous judgments upon me, and praying to Him to have mercy on me through JESUS CHRIST; and

not having tasted the least refreshment for twelve hours, even to the going down of the sun, I then eat a biscuit-cake and a bunch of grapes, and went to bed, finishing the day as I began.

I had all this time observed no Sunday; for, as at first I had little sense of religion upon my mind, I had after some time omitted to distinguish the weeks by making a greater



space than ordinary for the Sunday, and so did not really know what any of the days were; but now having more serious thoughts, and resolving to pray fervently and regularly to God, I determined to set apart every seventh day for a Sunday.

A little after this my ink began to fail me; and so I contented myself with using it more sparingly, and writing down only the most remarkable events of my life, without continuing a daily memorandum of lesser things.

The rainy season and the dry season began now to appear regular to me; and I learned to know them, so as to provide for them accordingly. But I bought all my experience before I had it; and this which I am going to relate was one of the most discouraging experiments I ever made.

I have mentioned, that I had saved the few ears of barley and rice which had so surprisingly sprung up, and I believe there were about thirty stalks of rice, and about twenty of barley; and now I thought it a proper time to sow it after the rains. Accordingly, I dug up a piece of ground, with my wooden spade, and dividing it into two parts, I sowed my grain; but as I was sowing, it casually occurred to me that I would not sow it all at first, because I was not sure that was the proper time for it; so I sowed about two thirds of the seeds, leaving about a handful of each. It was a great comfort to me afterwards that I did so; I could see that not one grain of that I sowed this time came to any thing; for the dry months following, and the earth having no rain after the seed was sown, it had no moisture to assist its growth, and never came up at all till the wet season had come again, and then it grew as if it had been newly sown.

Finding my first seed did not grow, I sought for a moister piece of ground to make another trial in; and I dug up a piece of ground near my new bower, and sowed the rest of my seed in February, a little before the vernal equinox; and this, having the rainy months of March and April to water it, sprung up very pleasantly, and yielded a very good crop; but having part of the seed left only, and not daring yet to sow the whole, I had but a small quantity at last, my whole crop not amounting to above half a peck of each kind. But by this experience I found out when the proper season was to sow, and that I might expect two seed-times, and two harvests every year.

While this corn was growing I made a discovery, which was of great use to me. As soon as the rains were over, which was the month of November, I made a visit to my bower, where, though I had not been for some months, I found all things just as I left them. The double hedge I had made was not only firm and entire, but the stakes, which I had cut off from some trees, were shot out and had long branches, as a willow-tree usually shoots the first year after lopping its head. I was surprised, and yet well pleased, to see the young trees grow, and I pruned them and trained them up to grow as much alike as I could; and it is scarcely credible how beautiful a figure they grew into in three years, so that, though the hedge made a circle of about twenty-five yards in diameter, yet the trees soon covered it, making a complete shade sufficient to lodge under all the dry season. This made me resolve to cut some more stakes, and make a hedge like this in a semi-circle round the wall of my first dwelling, which I did; and placing the trees or stakes in a double row, at about eight yards' distance from my first fence, they soon grew, and were at first an excellent cover to my habitation, and afterwards a defence also, as I shall observe in due time.

I mentioned before that I had a great desire to see the whole island, and that I had travelled up the brook, and so on to where I built my fort, and where I had an opening quite to the sea, on the other side of the island. I now resolved to travel across to the sea-shore on that side; so taking my gun and hatchet, and my dog, and a larger quantity of powder and shot than usual, with two biscuit-cakes and a bunch of raisins in my pouch, I began my journey. When I had passed the vale where my bower stood, I came within view of the sea to the west, and it being a very clear day, I fairly desiered land, whether an island or continent I could not tell, but it lay high, extending from the west to the W.S.W., at a very great distance, not less, I guessed, than forty-five or fifty miles off.

I could not tell what part of the world this might be, except that I knew it must be part of America, and, as I concluded, near the Spanish dominions, and perhaps was all inhabited by savages, where, if I had landed, I should have been in a worse condition than I was now; and therefore I acquiesced in the dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own and to believe ordered every thing for the best.

With these considerations I walked leisurely forward. I found that side of the island where I now was much pleasanter than mine; the open fields sweet, adorned with flowers and grass, and full of fine wood. I saw abundance of parrots, and after some trouble I contrived to catch one, and bring it home with me; and after a time I taught him to call me by my name, which was a great diversion to me.

As soon as I came to the sea-shore, I found indeed that I had taken up my lot on the worst side of the island, for here the shore was covered with innumerable turtles, whereas on the other side, I had found but three in a year and a half. Here was also an infinite number of fowls of many kinds, some of which I had not seen before. I could have shot as many as I pleased, but I was very sparing of my powder and shot, and therefore was more anxious to kill a goat, if I could, which I could better feed on; but though there were many more goats here than on the other side of the island, yet it was with much more difficulty that I could get near them, for the country being flat and open, they saw me much sooner than when I was on the hills.

Although this side of the country was much pleasanter than mine, I had no inclination to remove; for as I was fixed in my habitation, it became natural to me, and I seemed all the while I was here to be, as it were, upon a journey, and from home. However, I travelled along the shore towards the east, I suppose, about twelve miles; and then setting up a great pole upon the shore for a mark, I determined I would go home again, and that the next journey I took should be on the other side of the island, east from my dwelling, and so round, till I came to my post again.

I cannot express what a satisfaction it was to me to return to my old habitation, and to lie down again in my hammock-bed. I reposed myself a week, to refresh myself after my long journey; during which, most of the time was taken up in the weighty affair of making a cage for my Poll, who began now to be quite a domestic, and to be very familiar with me. Then I began to think of the kid, which I had pent in within my circle, and resolved to go and fetch it home, and give it some food; accordingly I went, and found it where I left it, but the poor thing was almost starved for want of food. I went and cut boughs of trees and branches of shrubs, and threw them over, and having fed it, I tied it

as I did before to lead it away ; but it was already so tame that it followed me like a dog, and as I continually fed it, the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it became from that time one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.

The rainy season was now come, and I kept the 30th of September in the same solemn manner as before, being the anniversary of my landing on the island, having now been here two years, and no more prospect of being delivered than the first day I came. I spent the whole day in thankful acknowledgments of the many wonderful mercies vouchsafed me, and without which my state might have been much more miserable than it was.

In this disposition of mind, I began my third year ; and though I have not given the reader so particular an account of my work this year as at the first, yet in general it may be observed, that I was seldom idle, having regularly divided my time, according to the several daily employments that were before me. First, my devotions, for which I constantly set apart some time thrice every day ; secondly, the going abroad with my gun for food, which generally took me up three hours every morning when it did not rain ; thirdly, the curing, preserving, and cooking what I had killed or caught for my supply. These took up great part of the day. Also it is to be considered, that in the middle of the day, when the sun was in the zenith, the violence of the heat was too great to stir out, so that about four hours in the evening was all the time I could work in ; with this exception, that sometimes I changed my hours of hunting and working, and went to work in the morning, and abroad with my gun in the afternoon.

I was now in the month of December, preparing to cut my crop of barley and rice. The ground I had manured or dug up for them was not great ; for, as I observed, my seed of each was not above the quantity of half a peck, having lost one whole crop by sowing in the dry season.

I was sadly put to it for a sickle to cut it down, and all I could do was to make one as well as I could out of one of the cutlasses which I saved out of the ship. However, as my crop was small it did not take long to cut it down ; and at the end of my harvesting I found, that out of my half peck of seed I had nearly two bushels of rice and above two and a half of barley.

This was a great encouragement to me, and I foresaw that in time it would please GOD to supply me with bread; but wishing to have a good quantity for store, and to secure a constant supply, I resolved not to taste any of this crop, but to preserve it for seed against the next season, and in the mean time to employ all my hours of working to accomplish the great work of providing myself with corn and bread.

First I had to prepare more land, for I had now seed enough to sow above an acre of ground. I sowed my seeds in two large flat pieces of ground, as near my house as I could, and fenced them in with a good hedge, the stakes of which were all cut off that wood which I had set before, so that in one year's time I knew I should have a quick or living hedge, that would want but little repair.

And now I found a new employment. I had long been studying how to make myself some earthen vessels, which I was greatly in want of. Considering the heat of the climate, I did not doubt that with clay I might botch up some such pot as, being dried by the sun, might be strong enough to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry; and as this was necessary for my corn, meal, &c., I resolved to make some as large as I could, so as to stand like jars to hold what should be put into them.

It would make the reader laugh to tell how many awkward ways I took to compound this paste, and what odd misshapen things I made, how many of them fell in and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff enough to bear its own weight; how many cracked by being heated too quickly; and how many fell to pieces with only removing, as well after as before they were dried; in a word, how, after having laboured hard to find the clay, to bring it home, and to work it, I could only make two large earthen ugly things (I cannot call them jars) in about two months' labour.

Though I succeeded so ill with the large pots, yet I made several smaller things with better success; such as little round pots, flat dishes, pitchers, pipkins, and such other things, which the heat of the sun baked very hard.

But all this would not answer my chief object, which was, to get an earthen pot to hold what was liquid and to bear the fire. It happened after some time that, making a pretty large fire for cooking my meat, when I went to put it out after I had done with it, I found a broken piece of one of my

earthenware vessels in the fire, burnt as hard as a stone and red as a tile. I was agreeably surprised to see it, and I said to myself that they might certainly be made to burn whole if they would burn broken.



This set me to study how to arrange my fire, so as to make it burn some pots. I had no notion of a kiln, such as the potters burn in, or of glazing them with lead, but I placed three large pipkins and two or three pots in a pile one upon another, and placed my fire-wood all round it, with a great heap of embers under them. I kept supplying the fire with fresh fuel round the outside and upon the top, till I saw the pots in the inside red-hot, and observed that they did not crack at all; after they

had remained in the heat some hours, I slackened my fire gradually till the red colour began to disappear, and watching all night, that I might not let the fire abate too fast, in the morning I had three very good (I will not say handsome) pipkins, and two other earthen pots, as hard burnt as could be desired, and one of them perfectly glazed with the running of the sand.

My next concern was to get a stone mortar to stamp or beat my corn in; for as to a mill, there was no thought of arriving at that with one pair of hands. To supply this want, I spent many a day in looking for a great stone big enough to cut hollow and make fit for a mortar, and could find none at all, except what was in the solid rock, and which I had no means of digging out, so after a great deal of time lost in the search I gave over, and resolved to look out for a block of hard wood, which I found much easier; and getting a good big one I rounded it, and formed it on the outside with my

hatchet; and then, with the help of fire, made a hollow place in it, as the Indians in Brazil make their canoes. After this I made a great heavy pestle of the wood called the iron-wood, and this I prepared and laid by against my next crop of corn.

The baking part was the next thing to be considered, and how I should make bread when I came to have corn, for I had no oven. At length I found out an expedient for that also, which was this: I made some earthen vessels very broad, but not deep; that is to say, about two feet diameter, and not above nine inches deep. These I burnt in the fire, as I had done the others, and laid them by; and when I wanted to bake I made a great fire upon the hearth, which I had paved with some tiles of my own making and burning. When the fire-wood was burnt pretty much into embers or live coals, I drew them forward upon this hearth, so as to cover it all over, and there I let them lie till the hearth was very hot; then sweeping away all the embers, I set down my loaves, and setting down the earthen pot upon them, drew the embers all round the outside of the pot to keep in and add to the heat; and thus, as well as in the best oven in the world, I baked my barley-loaves, and became in a little time a pastry-cook into the bargain, for I made several cakes of the rice, and puddings; I made no pies, indeed, neither had I any thing to put into them supposing I had, except the flesh either of fowls or goats.

And now, as my stock of corn increased, I wanted larger barns; for the corn now yielded me so much, that I had of the barley about twenty bushels, and of the rice as much, or more; so that I now resolved to begin to use it more freely; also I resolved to see what quantity would be sufficient for me a whole year, and to sow but once a year.

All the while I was employed upon these things, you may be sure my thoughts ran many times upon the prospect of land which I had seen from the other side of the island; and I was not without secret wishes that I was on shore there, fancying that, seeing the mainland, and in an inhabited country, I might find some way or other to convey myself farther, and perhaps at last find some means of escape.

Now I wished for my boy Xury and the long-boat with which I had sailed above a thousand miles on the coast of Africa; but this was in vain. Then I thought I would go and look at our ship's boat, which, as I have said, was blown up on the shore a great way in the storm at the time we were

cast away. She lay almost where she did at first, and was turned, by the force of the waves and the winds, almost bottom upwards, against the high ridge of a beachy rough sand, but no water about her as before.

If there had been hands to refit her, and to launch her, the boat would have done well enough, and I might have gone back into the Brazils with her easily; but I might have foreseen that I could no more turn her and set her upright than I could remove the island.

At length I began to think whether it was not possible to make a canoe, such as the natives of those countries make, viz., of the trunk of a great tree. This I not only thought possible, but easy, and pleased myself extremely with the thoughts of making it, and with my having more convenient tools for making it than any of the negroes or Indians; but I did not consider the particular inconvenience which I lay under more than the Indians did; for what was it to me, that when I had chosen a large tree in the woods, and had with great trouble made a boat of it,—if, after all this, I must leave it just where I found it, and not be able to launch it into the water?



My thoughts, however, were so intent upon my voyage in it, that I never once considered how I should move it off the land; although it was really more easy for me to guide it over forty-five miles of sea, than about forty-five fathoms of land, where it lay, to set it afloat in the water.

I went to work upon this boat the most like a fool that ever man did who had any of his senses awake. Not but that the difficulty of launching my boat came often into my head, but I put a stop to my own inquiries into it by this foolish answer which I gave myself,



"Let me first make it; I warrant I shall find some way or other to get it along when it is done."

After four months' work I had finished my task, and you may be sure that I was extremely delighted with it. The boat was really much larger than I ever saw a canoe made of one tree in my life; there remained nothing but to get it into the water; and had I been able to accomplish this, I make no question but I should have begun the maddest voyage, and the most unlikely to be performed, that ever was undertaken. But all my devices failed though they cost infinite labour too. The boat lay only about 100 yards from the water; but the first difficulty was, that it was all up hill towards the creek. To take away this obstacle, I resolved to dig into the surface of the earth, and so make a declivity: this I began, and it cost me a prodigious deal of pains; for who grudges pains that has his deliverance in view? But when this was worked through, and the difficulty overcome, it was still much the same, for I could no more stir the canoe than I could the other boat.

Then I measured the distance of ground, and resolved to cut a dock or canal to bring the water up to the canoe, seeing I could not bring it down to the water. When I began this work and calculated how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how much stuff to be thrown out, I found that, having only my own two hands it must have been ten or twelve years before I could have finished it; for the shore lay so high, that, at the upper end, it must have been at least twenty feet deep; thus, though with great reluctance, I gave up this attempt also, and now I saw, though too late, the folly of beginning a work before counting the cost.

In the middle of this enterprise I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion as before.

I became still more sensible of the goodness of Providence to me, and very thankful for my present condition, with all its hardships and misfortunes. And this also I cannot but recommend to the reflection of those who are apt in their misery to say, "Is any affliction like mine?" Let them consider how much worse the cases of some people are, and what their own case might have been, if Providence had thought fit.

With those reflections I worked my mind up, not only to resignation to the will of God in my circumstances, but even

to a sincere thankfulness for my condition; and that I, who was yet a living man, ought not to complain, seeing I had not the due punishment of my sins; that I enjoyed so many mercies, which I had no reason to have expected in that place; that I ought no more to repine at any condition, but to rejoice and to give daily thanks for that daily bread which nothing but a cloud of wonders could have brought; that I ought to consider I had been fed even by a miracle, even as great as that of feeding Elijah by ravens, nay, by a long series of miracles; and that I could hardly have named a place in the uninhabited part of the world where I could have been cast more to my advantage,—a place, where, as I had no society, which was my affliction on one hand, so I found no ravenous beasts, no furious wolves or tigers, to threaten my life; no venomous creatures, or poisonous, which I might have fed on to my hurt; no savages to murder and devour me.

In a word, as my life was a life of sorrow one way, so it was a life of mercy another; and I wanted nothing to make it a life of comfort, but to be able to make my sense of God's goodness to me, and care over me in this condition, be my daily consolation; and after I had made a just improvement of these things, I was no more sad.

I had now been here so long, that many articles which I brought on shore for my help were either quite gone, or very much wasted, and near spent. Among other things my clothes began to diminish: as to linen, I had had none for a good while, except some chequed shirts, which I found in the chests of the other seamen, and which I carefully preserved, because many times I could bear no other clothes on but a shirt; and it was a very great help to me that I had, among all the men's clothes of the ship, almost three dozen of shirts.

I had been accustomed to save the skins of all the four-footed creatures that I killed, and I had hung them up stretched out with sticks in the sun, by which means some of them were so dry and hard that they were fit for little, but others were very useful. The first thing I made was a great cap for my head, with the hair on the outside to shoot off the rain; and this I did so well, that after this I made a suit of clothes wholly of these skins: that is to say, a waistcoat and breeches open at the knees, and both loose, for they were rather wanted to keep me cool than to keep me warm. I must acknowledge, they were wretchedly made, for if I was a bad carpenter, I

was a worse tailor; however, I made very good shift with them, and when I was abroad, if it happened to rain, the hair of the waistcoat and cap kept me very dry.

After this I spent a deal of time and pains in making an umbrella, of which I was in great want. I had seen them made in the Brazils, where they are very useful in the great heats; (and I felt the heats every jot as great here, and greater too, being nearer the equinox;) besides, as I was obliged to be much abroad, it was a most useful thing to me, as well for the rains as the heat. I spoiled two or three before I succeeded to my mind; but at last I made one that answered pretty well; I covered it with skins, the hair outwards, so that it cast off the rain and kept off the sun so effectually, that I could walk out in the hottest weather, with greater advantage than I could before in the coolest.

For five years after this, scarcely any extraordinary thing happened to me. The chief thing I was employed in,—besides my yearly labour of planting my barley and rice, and curing my raisins, and my daily labour of going out with my gun,—was that of making another canoe, which at last I finished; so that by digging a canal to it, six feet wide, and four deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile. As for the first one I had made, I made it so large without considering beforehand how I should be able to launch it; so never being able to bring it to the water, or bring the water to it, I was obliged to let it lie where it was, as a memorandum to teach me to be wiser next time. Indeed the next time, though I could not find a tree proper for it, and was in a place where I could not get the water to it, at any less distance than, as I have said of near a half a mile, yet, as I saw it was practicable at last, I never gave it over; and though I was nearly two years about it, yet I never grudged my labour, in hopes of having a boat to go to sea in at last.

However, though my little canoe was finished, yet the size of it was not at all answerable to the design which I had in view when I made the first,—I mean of venturing over to the mainland which was above forty miles off; accordingly, the smallness of my boat put an end to that idea, and now I thought no more of it. But as I had a boat, I determined to sail round the island; for the discoveries I had made in my former journey made me very eager to see other parts of the coast. For this purpose, and that I might do every thing

with due consideration, I fitted up a little mast to the boat, and made a sail out of some of the pieces of the ship's sails, of which I had a great quantity by me. Then I made little lockers and boxes at each end, to put provisions, necessaries, and ammunition in, so as to keep them dry, either from rain, or the spray of the sea; and a little long hollow place where I could lay my gun, making a flap to hang down over it to keep it dry,

I fixed my umbrella also in a step at the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and keep the heat of the sun off me, like an awning, and thus I every now and then made a little excursion upon the sea, but never went far out. At last, however, being eager to view the circumference of my little kingdom, I resolved upon my tour, and accordingly I victualled my ship for the voyage.

It was the sixth of November, in the sixth year of my reign, or my captivity, which you please, that I set out on this voyage, which I found much longer than I expected; for though the island itself was not very large, yet when I came to the east side of it, I found a great ledge of rocks lie out about two leagues into the sea, some above water, some under it, and beyond this a shoal of sand, lying dry, half a league more; so that I was obliged to go a great way out to sea to double that point. When I first discovered them, I was going to give over my enterprise, and come back again, not knowing how far they might oblige me to go out to sea, and above all, doubting how I should get back again; so I came to an anchor, and having secured my boat, I took my gun and went on shore, climbing up a hill, which seemed to overlook the point, and where I could see the full extent of it.

In viewing the sea from the hill where I stood, I perceived a very strong current, which ran to the east, and even came close to the point; and I took the more notice of it, because I saw there might be some danger that, when I came into it, I might be carried out to sea by the strength of it, and not be able to make the island again. And, indeed, had I not got first upon this hill, I believe it would have been so; for there was the same current on the other side of the island, only that it set off at a farther distance; and I saw there was a strong eddy under the shore; so I had nothing to do but to get out of the first current, and I should presently be in an eddy.

I staid here two days; for the wind blowing pretty fresh

(E. at S.E. and that being just contrary to the said current) made a great breach of the sea upon the point; so that it was not safe for me to keep too close to the shore for the breach, nor to go too far off because of the stream. The third day, in the morning, the wind having abated over night, the sea was calm, and I ventured; but I am a warning to all rash and ignorant pilots, for no sooner had I come to the point, and a boat's length from the shore, than I found myself in a great depth of water, and a current like the sluice of a mill. It carried my boat along with it with such violence, that all my efforts could not keep her so much as on the edge of it; but I found it hurried me farther and farther out from the eddy, which was on the left hand. There was no wind to help me, and all that I could do with my paddles, signified nothing: and now I began to give myself over for lost; for, as the current was on both sides the island, I knew in a few leagues distance they must join again, and then I was irrecoverably gone; nor did I see any possibility of avoiding it, so that I had no prospect before me but of perishing, not by the sea, for that was calm enough, but of starving for hunger. I had indeed found a tortoise on the shore, as big almost as I could lift, and had tossed it into the boat, and I had a great jar of fresh water, but what was all this to being driven into the vast ocean, where there was no shore, no mainland, or island, for many leagues?

However, I worked hard, and kept the boat as much to the northward, that is, towards the side of the current which the eddy lay on, as I possibly could; when, about noon, I thought I felt a little breeze of wind in my face, springing up from the S.S.E. This cheered me a little, and especially when, in about half an hour more, it blew a gentle gale. By this time I had got to a frightful distance from the island; and, had the least cloud or hazy weather intervened, I had been undone another way, for I had no compass and should never have known how to steer towards the island, if I had once lost sight of it; but the weather continuing clear, I got up my mast again, and spread my sail, standing away to the north as much as possible, to get out of the current.

Just as I had set my mast and sail, and the boat began to stretch away, I saw, even by the clearness of the water, that some alteration of the current was near; for where the current was so strong, the water was foul; but perceiving the water

clear, I found the current abate; and presently I found to the east, at about half a mile, a breach of the sea upon some rocks; these rocks I found caused the current to part again; and as the main stress of it ran away more southerly, leaving the rocks to the north-east, so the other returned by the repulse of the rock, and made a strong eddy, which ran back again to the north-west with a very sharp stream.

They who know what it is to have a reprieve brought to them upon the ladder, or to be rescued from thieves just going to murder them, or who have been in such-like extremities, may guess what my present surprise of joy was, and how gladly I put my boat into the stream of this eddy, and the wind also freshening, how gladly I spread my sail to it. I speedily reached the island, and as soon as I got on shore, I fell on my knees, and gave God thanks for my deliverance, resolving to lay aside all thoughts of escape by my boat; and refreshing myself with such things as I had, I brought my boat close to the shore, in a little cove that I had espied under some trees, and laid me down to sleep, being quite spent with the labour and fatigue of the voyage.

I was now at a great loss how to get home with my boat. I had run too much hazard to think of attempting it by the way I went out; and what might be at the other side (I mean the west side) I knew not, nor had I any mind to run any more risks; so I resolved in the morning to make my way westward, along the shore, and to see if there was no creek where I might lay up my boat in safety, so as to have her again if I wanted her. In about three miles, or thereabouts, coasting the shore, I came to a very good inlet, or bay, which narrowed till it came to a very little rivulet, where I found a convenient harbour for my boat, and where she lay as if she had been in a little dock made on purpose for her: here I put in, and having stowed my boat safely, I went on shore to look about me, and see where I was.

I soon found I had but a little passed by the place where I had been before, when I travelled on foot; so taking nothing out of my boat but my gun and my umbrella, I began my march. The way was comfortable enough after such a voyage as I had had, and I reached my old bower in the evening, where I found every thing as I left it.

I got over the fence, and laid me down in the shade to rest my limbs, for I was very weary, and fell asleep: but judge

what a surprise I must have been in, when I was awoke by a voice calling me by my name several times, "Robin, Robin, Robin Crusoe, poor Robin Crusoe! Where are you, Robin Crusoe? Where are you? Where have you been?"

I was so dead asleep at first, that I did not awake thoroughly, and dozing between sleeping and waking, thought I dreamed that somebody spoke to me: at last as the voice continued to repeat "Robin Crusoe, Robin Crusoe," I began to awake more perfectly, and was at first dreadfully frightened, and started up in the utmost consternation: but no sooner were my eyes open, than I saw my Poll sitting on the top of the hedge, and immediately knew that it was he that spoke to me; for just in such bemoaning language I had used to talk to him, and teach him; and he had learned it so perfectly, that he would sit upon my finger, and lay his bill close to my face, and cry, "Poor Robin Crusoe, Where are you? Where have you been? How came you here?"—and such like things as I had taught him.

Being now in the eleventh year of my residence, and my ammunition growing low, I set myself to study some art to trap and snare the goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive. For this purpose I made some snares, and I believe they were more than once taken in them; but my tackle was not good, as I had no wire, so I always found them broken, and my bait devoured. At length I resolved to try a pit-fall; so I dug several large pits in the earth, and over these pits I placed hurdles of my own making, with a great weight upon them; and several times I put ears of barley and dry rice, without setting the trap; and I could easily perceive that the goats had gone in, and eaten up the corn, for I could see the mark of their feet; at length, I set three traps in one night, and going the next morning, I found them all standing, and yet the bait eaten and gone. This was very discouraging; however, I altered my traps; and going one morning to see them, I found in one an old he-goat, and in another three kids, a male and two females.

As to the old one, I knew not what to do with him; he was so fierce I durst not go into the pit, to bring him away alive, which was what I wanted: I could have killed him, but that would not have answered my end, so I let him out, and he ran away as if he had been frightened out of his wits. But I did not then know what I afterwards learned, that hunger

would tame a lion ; if I had let him stay there three or four days without food, and then have carried him some water to drink, and a little corn, he would have been as tame as one of the kids ; for they are sagacious, tractable creatures, when they are well used.

However, for the present I let him go, knowing no better at that time ; then I went to the three kids, and taking them one by one, I tied them with strings together ; and thus with some difficulty brought them all home.

It was a good while before they would feed ; but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame ; and now I found that if I expected to supply myself with goat's-flesh, when I had no powder or shot left, breeding them up tame was my only way, when perhaps I might have them about my house like a flock of sheep.

But then it presently occurred to me, that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up ; and the only way for this was to have some enclosed piece of ground, well fenced either with hedge or pale, to keep them in so effectually that those within might not break out, or those without break in.

This I accomplished, and in about a year and a half I had a flock of twelve goats, kids and all ; and in two years more, I had forty, besides several that I took and killed for my food ; and after that I enclosed five pieces of ground to feed them in, with pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted them, and gates out of one piece of ground into another. But this was not all ; for now I not only had goat's-flesh to feed on when I pleased, but milk too, a thing which indeed, in the beginning of my exile, I did not so much as think of, and which, when it came into my thoughts, was really an agreeable surprise ; for now I set up my dairy, and had sometimes a gallon or two of milk in a day. And as nature, who gives supplies of food to every creature, dictates even naturally how to make use of it, so I, that had never milked a cow, much less a goat, or seen butter or cheese made, very readily and handily, though after a great many trials, made both butter and cheese, and never wanted them afterwards.

How mercifully can our great Creator treat His creatures, even in those conditions in which they seemed to be overwhelmed by destruction ! How He can sweeten the bitterest



providences, and give us cause to praise Him even in dungeons and prisons! What a table was here spread for me in a wilderness, where I saw nothing at first, but the prospect of perishing with hunger!

It would have made a Stoic smile, to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner. There was my majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island; I had the lives of all my subjects at absolute command; I could hang, draw, give liberty, and take it away, and no rebels among all my subjects! Then to see how like a king I dined too, all alone, attended by my servants! Poll, as if he had been my favourite, was the only person admitted to talk to me; my dog, who was now grown old and crazy, sat always at my right hand; and two cats, one on one side the table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a bit from my hand, as a mark of special favour.

I had a strange uneasiness in my mind to go down to the point of the island, where, as I have said in my last ramble, I went up the hill to see how the shore lay, and how the current set, that I might see what I had to do: this inclination increased upon me every day, and at length I resolved to travel thither by land, and following the edge of the shore, I did so. But had any one in England met such a man as I was, it must either have frightened him, or raised a great deal of laughter; and as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could not but smile at the notion of my travelling through Yorkshire with such an equipage, and in such a dress. Be pleased to take a sketch of my figure, as follows:

I had a great high shapeless cap, made of goat's-skin, with a flap hanging down behind, both to keep off the sun and to prevent the rain from running into my neck; then I had a short jacket of goat's-skin, the skirts coming down to about the middle of my thighs, and a pair of open-kneed breeches of the same: the breeches were made of the skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that, like pantaloons, it reached to the middle of my legs. Stockings and shoes I had none; but I made a pair of something, I scarce know what to call them, like buskins, to flap over my legs, but of a most barbarous shape, as indeed were all the rest of my clothes. I had also on a broad belt of dried goat's-skin, and in a kind of loop on either side of this, instead of a sword and dagger, hung a little saw and hatchet—

one on one side, one on the other. I had another belt, not so broad, and fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, both made of goat's-skin too, in one of which hung my powder, in the other my shot; at my back I carried my basket, on my shoulder my gun, and over my head a great clumsy ugly goat's-skin umbrella, but which, after all, was the most necessary thing I had about me, next to my gun.

In this kind of figure I went on my new journey, and was out five or six days. I travelled first along the sea-shore, to the place where I first brought my boat to anchor; and, having no boat now to take care of, I went over the land a nearer way to the same height that I was upon before; when looking forward to the point of the rock which lay out, and which I was obliged to double with my boat, as I said above, I was surprised to see the sea all smooth and quiet; no rippling, no motion, no current, any more there than in other places.

I was at a loss to understand this, and resolved to spend some time in the observing of it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it; but I was presently convinced how it was, viz. that the tide of ebb setting from the west, and joining with the current of waters from some great river on the shore, must be the occasion of this current; and that, according as the wind blew more forcibly from the west or from the north, this current came nearer or went farther from the shore; for, waiting thereabouts till evening, I went up to the rock again, and then the tide of ebb being made, I plainly saw the current again as before, only that it ran farther off, being near half a league from the shore; whereas in my case it set close upon the shore, and hurried me and my canoe along with it, which at another time it would not have done.

This observation convinced me that I had nothing to do but to observe the ebbing and the flowing of the tide, and I might very easily bring my boat about the island again: but when I began to think of putting it in practice, I had such a terror at the remembrance of the danger I had been in, that I could not think of it again with any patience; but, on the contrary, I took another resolution, which was more safe, though more laborious; and this was, that I would make another canoe, and so have one for one side of the island, and one for the other.

I had now two plantations in the island. One was my little fortification or tent, with the wall about it under the rock, and the cave behind, which by this time I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door out beyond my wall or fortification, that is to say, beyond where my wall joined to the rock, was all filled up with large earthen pots, of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my stores of provision, especially my corn, some in the ear, cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hands. As for my wall, made with long stakes or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were by this time grown so big, and spread so very much, that there was not the least appearance, to any one's view, of any habitation behind them.

Near this dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the land, and upon lower ground, lay my two pieces of corn-ground, which I kept duly cultivated and sowed, and which duly yielded their harvest in its season, and whenever I had occasion for more corn, I had more land adjoining as fit as that.

Besides this, I had my country-seat, and I had now a tolerable plantation there also. First, I had my little bower, which I kept in repair; *i. e.* I kept the hedge which circled it in constantly fitted up to its usual height; I kept the trees (which at first were no more than stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall) always so cut, that they might spread and grow thick and wild, and make the more agreeable shade, which they did effectually.

Adjoining to this, I had my enclosures for the goats; and as I had taken great pains to fence in this ground, I was so anxious to see it kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off till I had stuck the outside of the hedge so full of small stakes, and so near to one another, that it was rather a pale than a hedge, and there was scarcely room to put a hand through between them, which afterwards, when those stakes grew, made the enclosure stronger than any wall.

In this place also I had my grapes growing, which I principally depended on for my winter store of raisins, and which I never failed to preserve very carefully, as the best and

most agreeable dainty of my whole diet; and, indeed, they were not only agreeable, but wholesome and nourishing in the highest degree.

As this was also about half way between my other habitation and the place where I had laid up my boat, I generally stayed and slept here in my way thither; for I used frequently to visit my boat, and kept all things about or belonging to her in good order: sometimes I went out in her to divert myself, but I was so apprehensive of being hurried out of my knowledge again by the currents or winds or any other accident, that I scarcely ever ventured above a stone's throw from the shore.

#### CHAPTER IV.



BUT now I come to an entirely new scene of my life. One day, about noon, in going towards my boat, what should I see but the print of a man's naked foot on the shore! I stood like one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition. I listened, I looked round me, I could hear nothing, nor see any thing: I went up to a rising ground to look farther; I went up the shore, and down the shore, but it was all one, I could see no other impression but that one. I went to it again, to see if it might not be my

fancy; but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the very print of a foot—toes, heel, and every part of a foot:

how it came thither I knew not, nor could in the least imagine. But after innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, looking behind me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man: nor is it possible to describe how many wild ideas were formed every moment in my fancy, and what strange unaccountable whimsies came into my thoughts.

When I came to my castle—for so I called it ever after this—I fled into it like one pursued; whether I went over by the ladder, as first contrived, or went in at the hole in the rock, I cannot remember; for never frightened hare fled to cover, or fox to earth, with more terror than I to my retreat.

I had no sleep that night: the farther I was from the occasion of my fright, the greater my apprehensions were, which is something contrary to the nature of such things, and especially to the usual practice of all creatures in fear. But I was so embarrassed with my own frightful ideas of the thing, that I formed nothing but dismal imaginations to myself, even though I was now a great way from it. Sometimes I fancied one thing, sometimes another; at last I concluded that it must be some of the savages of the mainland over against me, who had wandered out to sea in their canoes, and either driven by the currents, or by contrary winds, had made to this island; that they had been on shore, but had gone away again to sea, being as unwilling, perhaps, to stay in this desolate island as I should have been to have had them.

While these reflections were passing in my mind, I was very thankful that I was so happy as not to be thereabouts at that time, and that they did not see my boat, by which they would have concluded that some inhabitants had been in the place, and perhaps have searched farther for me. Then terrible thoughts racked my imagination; about their having found my boat, and that there were people still here; and that if so, they would certainly come again in greater numbers and devour me; that if they should not find me, yet they would discover my enclosure, destroy all my corn, carry away my flock of tame goats, and I should perish at last for mere want.

In the midst of these cogitations and apprehensions, it occurred to me one day, that all this might be a fancy of my own, and that the print might be that of my own foot, when I came on shore from my boat. But when I went to the place it appeared evident to me, that when I laid up my boat, I could not possibly be on shore any where thereabouts; and next, when I came to measure the mark, I found my foot not so large by a great deal. Both these things filled my head with new imaginations, and terrified me again to the highest degree, so that I shook like one in an ague, and I went home again, filled with the belief that some man or men had been on shore there; or perhaps that the island was inhabited, and I might be surprised before I was aware.

These anxious thoughts kept me awake all that night, but in the morning I fell asleep, through sheer exhaustion, and after sleeping very soundly, I awoke much more composed than I had been before. And now that I began to think calmly, and debate with myself, I concluded that this island, which was so pleasant and fruitful, was not so entirely abandoned as I had imagined; that although there were no regular inhabitants, yet that there might sometimes come boats off from the mainland, who either by design, or when driven by cross winds, might come to this place. Then I remembered that I had lived here fifteen years, and had not met with the least shadow of any people before, and so, if at any time they had been driven here, it was probable they went away again as soon as they could. The most therefore I could suggest of any danger was from any such casual landing of people from the main; and thus I had nothing to do but to consider of some safe retreat, in case of any savages landing upon the spot.

Now I began to repent that I had dug my cave so far as to carry a door through again; and on mature consideration, I resolved to make a second fortification, at some distance from my wall, where I had planted a double row of trees about twelve years before; these trees having been planted close together, there needed but a few piles to be driven between them, so as to make them thicker and stronger, and thus my wall would soon be finished. Besides this, I strengthened it with pieces of timber, old cables, and every thing I could think of, leaving in it seven little holes, about as big as my arm. Through these holes I contrived to plant

my seven muskets, fitting them into frames that held them like a carriage, so that I could fire all the seven guns in two minutes time.

When this was done, I planted all the ground without the wall, for a great length every way, as full with sticks of the osier-like wood as they could well stand; leaving a pretty large space between them and the wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and that they might have no shelter from the young trees, if they attempted to approach my outer wall.

By this means I had in two-years time a thick grove, and in five or six years I had a wood before my dwelling, grown so thick and strong, that it was, indeed, perfectly impassable; and no man, of what kind soever, would ever imagine that there was any thing beyond it, much less a habitation. Thus I took all the measures human prudence could suggest for my own preservation, and it will be seen by-and-by that they were not without just reason.

In the mean time, I was not altogether careless of my other affairs. Especially I was greatly concerned for my little herd of goats, which were not only a present supply to me upon every occasion, but also lessened the fatigue of my hunting after the wild ones; and I was loath to lose the advantage of them, and to have them all to nurse up over again. After long consideration, therefore, I determined to enclose two or three little bits of land, at a distance from one another, and as much concealed as I could, where I might keep about half a dozen young goats in each place; so that if any disaster happened to the flock in general, I might be able to raise them again with little trouble and time.

Accordingly, I spent some time in finding out the most retired parts of the island, and at last I pitched upon a clear piece of land, of nearly three acres, so surrounded with woods that it was almost an enclosure by nature; at least it did not require much labour to make it so. Here I immediately set to work, and in less than a month I had so fenced it round, that my herd, which were not so wild now as at first, were tolerably well secured in it. To this spot I removed ten she-goats and two he-goats; and when there, I continued to perfect the fence, till I had made it as secure as my other.

After this I went about the island, searching for another private place to make such another deposit, when one day,

wandering more to the west point than I had ever done yet, and looking out to sea, I thought I saw a boat at a great distance. It was so remote, that I could not tell what to make of it, though I looked at it till my eyes were not able to look any longer; but as I descended from the hill, I could see no more of it, so I gave it up, only I resolved to go no more without a perspective glass in my pocket.

When I had come down the hill, to the end of the island, where, indeed, I had never been before, I was presently convinced that the seeing the print of a man's foot was not such a strange thing in the island as I imagined. I was perfectly confounded and amazed, nor is it possible for me to express the horror of my mind, at seeing the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human bodies; I observed too a place where there had been a fire, with a circle dug round it in the earth, as if some savage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feast upon the bodies of their fellow-creatures.

I was so astonished with these things, that I had no apprehension of any danger to myself for a long while; all my thoughts were engrossed with the fearful spectacle, for though I had often heard of such things before, they had never been so brought home to my mind. I could not bear to stay in the place a moment, so I got up the hill again with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

When I came a little out of that part of the island, I stood still awhile as amazed; and then, recovering myself, I looked up with the utmost affection of my soul, and, with a flood of tears in my eyes, gave God thanks that He had cast my first lot in a part of the world where I was separated from such dreadful creatures as these; and that though I had esteemed my present condition very miserable, yet that I had still more to give thanks for than to complain of; and this above all, that I had, even in this miserable condition, been comforted with the knowledge of Himself, and the hope of His blessing, which was a felicity more than equivalent to all the misery which I had suffered or could suffer.

In this frame of thankfulness I went home to my castle, and began to be much easier now as to my safety than ever I was before; for I observed that these wretches never came to this island in search of what they could get; perhaps not seeking, or not expecting any thing here, and having often, no doubt, been up in the covered woody part of it, without



finding any thing to their purpose. I knew I had been here now almost eighteen years, and never saw the least footsteps of a human creature there before ; and might be here eighteen more as entirely concealed as I was now, if I did not discover myself to them, which I had no occasion to do, it being my only business to keep myself concealed where I was, unless I found a better sort of creatures than these cannibals to make myself known to.

Yet I entertained such an abhorrence of the savage wretches, and of their inhuman custom of devouring one another, that I continued pensive and sad, and kept close within my own circle for almost two years after this ; for the aversion which nature gave me to these horrid wretches was such that I was as fearful of seeing them as of seeing the devil himself. Nor did I so much as go to look after my boat in all this time, but began rather to think of making another, for I could not think of ever making any more attempts to bring the other boat round the island, lest I should meet with some of those creatures at sea, for if I happened to fall into their hands, I knew what would be my lot.

Time, however, and the belief that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to lessen my uneasiness, and I began to live in the same composed manner as formerly, only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me, lest I should happen to be seen. I was more cautious too in firing my gun, lest any one should be on the island, and happen to hear it ; and it was therefore a very good providence to me that I was furnished with a breed of goats, so that I had no need to hunt or shoot any more. Indeed for two years after this I believe I never fired my gun once off, though I never went out without it ; and, what was more, as I had saved three pistols out of the ship, I always carried them out with me, or at least two of them, sticking them in my goatskin belt. I likewise furbished up one of the great cutlasses that I had out of the ship, and made a belt to put it in also. So that I was now a most formidable fellow to look at when I went abroad, if you add to the former description of myself the two pistols and a great broad-sword hanging at my side.

And now, night and day, I could think of nothing but how I might destroy some of these monsters in their cruel enter-

tainments, and, if possible, save the victims they should bring to devour. It would take up a volume to set down all my contrivances for destroying these creatures, or at least frightening them, so as to prevent their coming hither any more. But what could one man do, when perhaps there might be twenty or thirty together, with their bows and arrows, with which they could shoot as true to a mark as I could with my gun?

I employed myself several days in finding out proper places to put myself in ambuscade to watch for the savages. At length I found a place in the side of the hill, where I was satisfied I might securely wait till I saw the boats coming, and might then, even before they would be ready to come on shore, convey myself unseen into a thicket of trees, where I might conceal myself entirely. Here I might sit and observe all their doings, and take full aim at their heads when they were so close together as that it would be next to impossible that I should fail of wounding three or four of them at the first shot.



After I had thus laid the scheme for my design, and in my imagination put it in practice, I continually made my tour every morning up to the top of the hill, which was about three miles or more from my castle, as I called it, to see if I could observe any boats at sea coming near the island, or standing towards it.

I believe the reader will not think it strange, if I confess that the anxieties, the constant dangers I lived in, and the concern that was now upon me, put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances that I had made for my future accommodation. I had the care of my safety more now upon my hands than that of my food. I dared not drive a nail,

or chop a stick of wood now, for fear the noise I should make might be heard; much less would I fire a gun; and above all, I was uneasy at making any fire, lest the smoke, which is visible at a great distance in the day, should betray me: and for this reason I removed that part of my business which required fire, such as burning of pots and pipes, &c., into my new apartment in the woods; where, after I had been some time, I found, to my unspeakable consolation, a natural cave in the earth, which went in a vast way, and where, I dare say, no savage, had he been at the mouth of it, would be so hardy as to venture in; nor indeed would any man else, but one, who like me, wanted nothing so much as a safe retreat. The mouth of this hollow was at the bottom of a great rock, where, by mere accident (I would say, if I did not see now an abundant reason to ascribe all such things to Providence), I was cutting down some thick branches of trees to make charcoal.

The floor was dry and level, and had a sort of small loose gravel upon it, so that there was no noxious or venomous creature to be seen, neither was there any damp or wet on the sides or roof. The only difficulty was the entrance, which, however, as it was a place of security, I thought an advantage; so that I resolved, without delay, to bring some of those things which I was most anxious about, to this place; particularly my magazine of powder, and all my spare arms, viz. two fowling-pieces, for I had three in all, and three muskets, of which I had eight in all. So I kept at my castle only five, which stood ready mounted, like pieces of cannon, on my outmost fence, and were ready also to take out on any expedition.

In removing my ammunition, I took occasion to open the barrel of powder which I took up out of the sea, and which had been wet; and I found that the water had penetrated about three or four inches into the powder on every side, which, caking and growing hard, had preserved the inside like a kernel in a shell, so that I had nearly sixty pounds of very good powder in the centre of the cask. This was an agreeable discovery to me at that time, so I carried all away thither, never keeping above two or three pounds with me in my castle, for fear of a surprise. I also carried thither all the lead I had left for bullets.

It being now the month of December, which was the time

of my harvest, I was pretty much abroad in the fields: when going out rather early in the morning, even before it was broad daylight, I was surprised at seeing the light of a fire upon the shore, at a distance of about two miles, and, to my great affliction, it was on my side of the island.

I was indeed terribly alarmed at this sight, and stopped short within my grove, not daring to go out lest I might be surprised; and yet I had no more peace within, from my apprehension that if these savages, in rambling over the island, should find my corn or any of my works and improvements, they would immediately conclude that there were people in the place, and would never give over till they had found me out. In this extremity I went back directly to my castle, and pulled up the ladder after me, having made all things without look as wild and natural as I could.

Then I prepared myself within, and put myself in a posture of defence. I loaded all my cannon, as I called them, that is to say, my muskets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my pistols, and resolved to defend myself to the last; not forgetting to commend myself to the Divine protection, and earnestly to pray to God to deliver me out of the hands of the barbarians. In this posture I continued about two hours and began to be very impatient for intelligence abroad, for I had no spies to send out.

After remaining a while longer, and musing what I should do, I set up my ladder to the side of the hill, where there was a flat place, and then pulling the ladder up after me, I set it up again, and mounted to the top of the hill; and pulling out my perspective glass, which I had taken on purpose, I lay down flat on the ground, and began to look for the place. I presently found there were no less than nine naked savages sitting round a small fire they had made; not to warm them, for they had no need of that, the weather being extremely hot, but, as I supposed, to dress some of their diet of human flesh which they had brought with them;—whether alive or dead I could not tell.

They had two canoes with them, which they had hauled up upon the shore, and as it was then ebb tide, they seemed to me to wait for the return of the flood to go away again. As I expected, so it proved; for as soon as the tide made to the westward, I saw them all take boat and row away. As soon as I saw them shipped and gone, I took two guns upon my

shoulders, and two pistols at my girdle, and my great sword by my side, without a scabbard; and with all the speed I was able to make, I went away to the hill. As soon as I got thither, which was not less than two hours (for I could not go quickly being so loaded with arms), I perceived there had been three canoes more of savages on that place; and looking out farther, I saw them all at sea together, making over for the main.

This was a dreadful sight to me, especially when, going down to the shore, I could see the marks of the dismal work they had been about, viz. the blood, the bones, and part of the flesh of human bodies, devoured by those wretches with merriment and sport. I was so filled with indignation at the sight, that I began now to premeditate the destruction of the next that I saw there, let them be how many soever.

## CHAPTER V.



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A YEAR and three months more elapsed before I saw any more of the savages. The perturbation of my mind during this interval was very great: I slept unquietly, and often started out of my sleep; in the day trouble overwhelmed my mind, and in the night I dreamed often of fearful battles with the savages. But to waive all this for a while, it was in the middle of May, (on the

thunder, and a very foul night it was after it. In the midst of this I was startled by the noise of a gun, as I thought, fired at sea.

This was a surprise of quite a different nature from any I had met with before. I got up in the greatest haste imaginable, clapped my ladder to the rock in a trice, and mounting to the top of the hill I saw at that very moment a flash of fire which bade me listen for a second gun, by the sound of which I knew that it was from that part of the sea where I was driven out with the current in my boat.

I immediately considered that this must be some ship in distress, and that they had fired these guns for signals of distress. I had the presence of mind to think, that though I could not help them, yet they might help me; so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a good large pile, I set it on fire. The wood was dry and blazed freely, so that I was certain, if there was any such thing as a ship, they must needs see it; and no doubt they did, for as soon as my fire blazed up, I heard another gun, and after that several others, all from the same quarter. I kept up my fire all night long till day broke; and when it was broad day and the air cleared up, I saw something at a great distance at sea, east of the island; whether a sail or a hull I could not distinguish, not even with my glass, the distance was so great and the weather still somewhat hazy.

I looked frequently at it all that day, and perceiving that it did not move, I concluded that it was a ship at anchor, and being eager to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and ran toward the south side of the island to the rocks. When I had got up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see the wreck of a ship cast away upon those concealed rocks which I found when I was out in my boat. It seemed plain to me that these men, whoever they were, being out of their reckoning, and the rocks being wholly under water, had been driven upon them in the night, the wind blowing hard at E. and E.N.E. Had they seen the island, as I suppose they did not, they must, I thought, have endeavoured to save themselves by the help of their boat; but the firing of their guns for help, especially when they saw, as I imagined, my fire, filled me with many thoughts. First, I imagined that, upon seeing my light, they might have put themselves into their boat, and have endeavoured to make the

shore; but that the sea running very high, they might have been cast away. Again I imagined they had some other ship or ships in company, who, upon the signals of distress they had made, had taken them up and carried them off; at other times I fancied they had all gone off to sea in their boat, and being hurried away by the current that I had been formerly in, were carried out into the great ocean, where there was no chance for them but misery and starvation.

I cannot possibly explain what a strange longing I felt in my soul at this sight, and I would break out sometimes thus: "Oh, that there had been but one or two, nay, but one soul saved out of the ship, that I might have had one companion, one fellow-creature to speak to me and to converse with me!" In all the time of my solitary life I never felt so earnest a desire after the society of my fellow-creatures, or so deep a regret at the want of it.

But it was not to be: till the last year of my being on this island I knew not whether any were saved out of that ship or not, and had only the affliction some days after to see the corpse of a drowned boy come on shore, at the end of the island which was next the shipwreck. He had no clothes on but a seaman's waistcoat, a pair of drawers, and a blue linen shirt; nor was there anything to direct me so much as to guess what nation he was of. He had nothing in his pocket but two pieces of eight and a tobacco pipe, the last of which was to me often times more value than the first.

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to the wreck, not doubting but I might find something on board that might be useful to me; but that did not altogether influence me so much as the possibility that there might be yet some living creature on board, whose life I might not only save, but might, by saving that life, greatly comfort my own. This thought so clung to my heart that I could not be quiet night or day; and the impression being so strong upon my mind that it could not be resisted, I considered that it must come from some invisible direction, and that I should be wanting to myself if I did not go.

With these views I hastened back to my castle, prepared every thing for my voyage, took a quantity of bread, a pot of fresh water, a compass, a bottle of rum, and a basket full of raisins; I then went down to my boat, baled the water out of her, and got her afloat, loaded all my cargo in her, and went

home again for more. My second cargo was a great bag full of rice, my umbrella for a shade, another pot of fresh water, and about two dozen of my small loaves or barley cakes more than before, with a bottle of goat's milk and a cheese, all which, with great labour, I brought to my boat; and praying to God to direct my voyage, I set sail.

I made first a little out to sea towards the north, till I began to feel the benefit of the current, which set eastward, and which carried me at a great rate, and yet did not so hurry me as the southern-side current had done before, and so as to take from me all government of the boat; but having a strong steerage with my paddle, I went at a great rate directly for the wreck, and in less than two hours I came up to it.



It was a dismal sight to look at; the ship, which, by its building, was Spanish, stuck fast, jammed in between two rocks; all the stern was beaten to pieces with the sea; and as her fore-castle, which stuck in the rocks, had run on with great violence, her main-mast and fore-mast were broken short off, but her bowsprit was sound, and the head and bow appeared firm. When I came close to her, a dog appeared upon her, who, seeing me coming, yelped and cried, and as soon as I called him

jumped into the sea to come to me; on which I took him into the boat, but found him almost dead of hunger and thirst. I gave him a cake of my bread, which he ate like a ravenous wolf that had been starving a fortnight in the snow.

After this I went on board, when the first sight I met with was two men drowned in the fore-castle of the ship, with their arms fast locked in one another. I concluded that when the ship struck, it being in a storm, the sea broke so high and so continually over her that the men were not able to bear it,



and were drowned with the constant rushing in of the water, as much as if they had been under water. Besides the dog, there was nothing left in the ship that had life, nor any goods that I could see but what were spoiled by the water. There were some casks of liquor, whether wine or brandy I knew not, which lay lower in the hold, and which, the water being ebbed out, I could see; but they were too big to carry away. I saw several chests which I believed belonged to some of the seamen, and I got two of them into the boat without examining what was in them.

I found a little cask full of liquor, of about twenty gallons, which I got into my boat with much difficulty. I found, moreover, fire-shovel and tongs, which I wanted extremely, also two little brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron. With this cargo and the dog I came away, and the same evening, about an hour within night, I reached the island in safety, but greatly fatigued with my exertions. •

I reposed that night in the boat; and in the morning I resolved to harbour what I had got in my new cave, and not to carry it home to my castle. When I came to open the chests, I found several things of great use to me; for example, a case of bottles, of a peculiar make, topped with silver, and filled with cordial waters very fine and good. Next I found two pots of very good sweetmeats, so fastened also on the top that the salt water had not hurt them. There were also some very good shirts, and about a dozen and a half of white linen handkerchiefs and coloured neckcloths which were very welcome to me. Besides this, when I came to the till in the chests, I found there three great bags of pieces of eight, which held about eleven hundred pieces in all; and in one of them, wrapt up in paper, six doubloons of gold, and some small bars or wedges of gold.

Having now brought all my things on shore and secured them, I went back to my boat, and rowed her along the shore to her old harbour, where I laid her up, and made the best of my way to my habitation. I began now to repose myself after my old fashion, and take care of my family affairs; and for a while I lived easy enough, only that I was more vigilant than I used to be, looked out oftener, and did not go abroad so much; and if at any time I did stir with any freedom, it was always to the east part of the island, where I was pretty well satisfied the savages never came, and where I could go

without so many precautions, and such a load of arms and ammunition as I always carried with me if I went the other way.

About a year and a half after this, I was surprised one morning early with seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together, on my side of the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight. The number of them was quite beyond me; for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four, or six, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures to attack twenty or thirty men single-handed: so I kept close in my castle, perplexed and discomforted, only, I put myself into the same postures for an attack that I had formerly done, and was ready for action, if any thing presented. Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise; I at length got ready my guns and clambered up to the top of the hill. Here I observed, that the savages were no less than thirty in number; that they had a fire kindled, and had been dressing meat: how they had cooked it, or what it was, I knew not; but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, in their own fashion, round the fire.



While I was thus looking at them, I perceived two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where, it seemed, they were laid by, and now brought out for slaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fall, being knocked down, I suppose, with a club or wooden sword, for that was their way; and two or three others at work immediately, preparing him for their horrid cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him. At that very moment, this poor wretch seeing himself a little at liberty, and inspired

with hopes of life, started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands, directly towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frightened (I must acknowledge) when I

saw him run my way, especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body, and when I expected he would certainly take shelter in my grove. However, I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover, when I found that there were not above three men that followed him; and still more was I encouraged, when I found he outstript them greatly in running, so that if he could but hold out for half an hour, I saw he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle the creek, which I have mentioned before, and this I saw plainly that he must necessarily swim over, or be taken; and when he came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up, but plunging in, swam through in about thirty strokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with great strength and swiftness. When the three others came to the creek, I saw that two of them could swim, but that the third could not, and the last, after standing a while on the other side, turned round and went back to his company.

I observed that the two who swam were more than twice as long swimming over the creek as the one that fled from them. It came now irresistibly into my thoughts, that I was plainly called by Providence to save this poor creature's life, I ran down the ladders therefore with all possible expedition, fetched my two guns, and getting up again with the same haste to the top of the hill, I crossed toward the sea, and having a very short cut, and all down hill, placed myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hallooing aloud to him that fled, who, on looking back, was at first perhaps as much frightened at me as at his pursuers. However, I beckoned with my hand to him to come back, and in the mean time, I slowly advanced towards the two that followed. Rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece, on which, the other who pursued with him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me; so I was then forced to shoot at him first, which I did, and killed him at the first shot. The poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen, yet was so frightened with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock-still, and neither came forward nor went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly than to come on. I made signs to come forward, which he easily understood: he came a little

way, then stopped again; and then a little further, and stopped again; and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and was about to be killed, as his two enemies were. I beckoned to him again, and gave him all the signs of encouragement that I could think of; after which he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknowledgement for saving his life. At length he came close to me, and then kneeled down again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and taking hold of me, set my foot upon his head. This, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the savage I had knocked down was not killed, but only stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself; so I pointed to him, and shewed him the savage, that he was not dead: upon this he spoke some words to me, and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard, my own excepted, for above twenty-five years. But there was no time for such reflections now: the savage who was knocked down had recovered himself so far as to sit up on the ground, and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid; so when I saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him, upon which my savage made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which I did; and he no sooner had it, than he ran to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head so cleverly, that no executioner in Europe could have done it better. When he had done this, he came to me, and brought me the sword again, and, with abundance of gestures, which I did not understand, laid it down, with the head of the savage that he had killed, just before me.

But that which astonished him most was, to know how I had killed the other Indian so far off: so pointing to him, he made signs to let him go to him; on which I bade him go, as well as I could. When he came to him, he stood looking at him like one amazed, turned him first on one side, then on the other; looked at the wound the bullet had made, then took up his bow and arrows, and came back. So I turned to go away, and beckoned him to follow me, making signs to him that more might come after them.

Upon this he signed to me that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest if they followed; and so I made signs to him to do so, on which, he fell to work, and in a few minutes had scraped a hole in the sand with his hands big enough to bury them in. I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour; then calling him away, I carried him, not to my castle, but straight away to my cave, on the farther part of the island. Here I gave him bread, and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was, indeed, in great distress for, by his running; and having refreshed him, I made signs to him to lie down and sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great bundle of rice-straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes: so the poor creature lay down and went to sleep.

He was a comely handsome fellow, well made, with straight long limbs not too large, tall, and well-shaped; and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. There was something very manly in his face, and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of a European in his countenance too, especially when he smiled; his hair was long and black, his forehead very high and large, and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but tawny, and yet not of an ugly yellow tawny, as Brazilians and Virginians and other natives of America are, but of a bright kind of dun-olive colour, that had in it something agreeable, though not very easy to describe. His face was round and plump, his nose small, not flat like the negroes, a very good mouth, thin lips, and his fine teeth were well-set, and white as ivory. After he had slumbered, rather than slept, about half an hour, he waked again, and came out of the cave to me—for I had been milking my goats, which I had in the enclosure just by. When he espied me, he came running to me, laying himself down again upon the ground, with all the possible signs of a humble thankful disposition, making many gestures to shew it. At last he laid his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and set my other foot upon his head, as he had done before; and after this, made every sign imaginable of submission to me, to let me know that he would serve me as long as he lived. I understood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleased with him. In a little time I began to speak to him,

and teach him to speak to me; and first, I made him know his name should be *Friday*, which was the day I saved his life. I likewise taught him to say *Master*, and then let him know that was to be my name; I likewise taught him to say *Yes* and *No*, and to know the meaning of them. I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and let him see me drink it before him, and sop my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made signs that it was very good.

I stayed there with him all that night; but as soon as it was day, I beckoned him to come with me, and let him know I would give him some clothes, at which he seemed very glad. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone; and pulling out my glass, I looked, and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them or of their canoes; so it was plain that they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind them, without any search after them.

But I was not content with this discovery; and having now more courage, and consequently more curiosity, I took my man Friday with me to the place where these creatures had been, for I had a mind now to get some fuller intelligence of them. When I came to the place, my very blood ran chill in my veins, and my heart sank within me at the horror of the spectacle. The place was covered with bones, the ground dyed with blood, pieces of flesh left here and there half-eaten, mangled, and scorched, and, in short, all the tokens of the feast they had been making there. Friday, by his signs, had made me understand that they had brought over four prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth; that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects, it seems, he had been one of; and that they had taken a great number of prisoners, all which were carried to several places by those that had taken them in the fight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here upon those they brought hither.

I caused Friday to gather all the skulls, bones, flesh, and whatever remained, and lay them together on a heap, and make a great fire upon it, and burn them all to ashes. I found Friday had still a hankering stomach after some of the flesh, and was still a cannibal in his nature, but I made such

signs of abhorrence at the very thoughts of it, and at the least appearance of it, that he durst not shew it; indeed I contrived to let him know that I would kill him if he should offer to do it.

When we had done this, we came back to our castle, and there I fell to work for my man Friday. First of all, I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had got out of the gunner's chest in the wreck, and these, with a little alteration, fitted him very well; then I make him a jerkin of goat's-skin; and lastly I gave him a cap, which I had made of hare-skin; and thus he was dressed, for the present, tolerably well, and was mightily pleased to see himself almost as well clothed as his master.

The next day after I came home with him, I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might make him comfortable, and yet be perfectly secure myself, I made a little tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and in the outside of the first. As there was a door or entrance there into my cave, I made a framed door-case, and a door to it of boards, and set it up in the passage, a little within the entrance; and causing the door to open on the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladders too; so that Friday could no way get to me, without making so much noise in getting over, that it must needs waken me. As to weapons, I placed them all by my side every night.

But I soon found that I needed none of all these precautions, for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant than Friday was to me; without passions, sullenness, or designs; his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to a father; and I dare say he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine, upon any occasion whatsoever: the many testimonies he gave me of this, put it out of doubt, and soon convinced me, that I needed to use no precautions as to my safety on his account.

I was in truth greatly delighted with him, and made it my business to teach him every thing that was proper to make him useful and handy; but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spoke. And indeed he was the aptest scholar that ever was; and so cheerful, so constantly diligent, and so pleased when he could understand me, or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant to me to talk to

him. And now my life began to be so easy that I began to say to myself, that could I but have been safe from more savages, I cared not if I was never to remove from the place while I lived.

It now occurred to me that, in order to make Friday forget his former way of feeding, I ought to let him taste other flesh; so I took him out with me one morning, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring him home and dress it. As I was going, however, I saw a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her, on which I caught hold of Friday, and made signs to him not to stir. Immediately I presented my piece and shot one of the kids. The poor creature, who had, at a distance indeed, seen me kill the savage, but did not know nor could imagine how it was done, was greatly amazed; he did not see the kid I shot at, or perceive I had killed it, but opened his waistcoat to feel if he was not wounded, and, as I found presently, thought I was resolved to kill him; for he came and kneeled down to me, and, embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand, though I could easily see that the meaning was to pray me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm, and taking him up by the hand, I laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had killed, beckoned to him to run and fetch it, which he did; and while he was wondering and looking to see how the creature was killed, I loaded my gun again, and pointing to a parrot on a tree close by, I then made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird. I fired accordingly, and on seeing the parrot fall, he stood like one frightened, notwithstanding all I had said to him; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put any thing into the gun, but thought there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, which was able to kill man, beast, bird, or any thing near or far off. His astonishment was so great that I verily believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun: as for the gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several days after, but would speak to it, and talk to it, as if it could answer him, which, as I afterwards learned, was to desire it not to kill him.

Having brought home the kid, the same evening I took the skin off, and cut it up as well as I could, and having a pot



for that purpose, I stewed some of the flesh, and made some very good broth, of which we both partook. Next day I was resolved to feast him by roasting a piece of the kid, which I did by hanging it before the fire suspended from a string, as I had seen many people do in England, setting two poles up, one on each side the fire, and one across the top, and tying the string to the cross stick, letting the meat turn continually: this Friday admired very much, but when he came to taste the flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how much he liked it, that I could not but understand him, and at last he told me he would never eat man's flesh any more, which you may be sure I was very glad to hear.

The next day I set him to work to beating some corn out, and sifting it in the manner I used to do; and it was not long before he understood how to do it as well as myself, especially after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of, for after that I let him see me make my bread, and bake it too; indeed, in a little time, Friday was able to do all my work for me, as well as I could do it myself.

This was the pleasantest year of all the life I led in this place. Friday began to understand the names of almost every thing I had occasion to call for, and of every place I had to send him to, and to talk a great deal to me; so that I began now to have some use for my tongue again, which indeed I had but little occasion for before. Besides the pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular satisfaction in the fellow himself; his simple unfeigned honesty appeared to me more and more every day, and I began really to love the creature, while on his side, I believe, he loved me more than it was possible for him ever to love any thing before.



I had a mind to try if he had any hankering inclination to go to his own country again; and having taught him English so well that he could answer me almost any question, when we sat conversing together one day, I asked him whether the nation that he belonged to never conquered in battle? At

which he smiled, and said, "Yes, yes, we always fight the better;" that is always get the better in fight; and so we began the following discourse. "You always fight the better!" said I. "How came you to be taken prisoner then, Friday?" "My nation beat much for all that."

"How, beat! if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?" "They more many than my nation in the place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me. My nation over beat them in the yonder place where me no was: there my nation take one, two, great thousand."

"But why did not your side recover you from the hands of your enemies then?" "They run one, two, three, and me, and make go in the canoe; my nation have no canoe that time."

"Well, Friday, and what does your nation do with the men they take? Do they carry them away, and eat them as these did?" "Yes, my nation eat mans too, eat all up."

"Where do they carry them?" "Go to other place where they think."

"Do they come hither?" "Yes, yes, they come hither come other else place."

"Have you been here with them?" "Yes, I been here" [at the same time pointing to the N.W. side of the island, which, it seems, was their side].

By which I understood that my man Friday had formerly been among the savages who used to come on shore on the farther part of the island, for the same purposes that he was himself brought for; and some time after, when I took the courage to carry him to that side, being the same I formerly mentioned, he presently knew the place, and told me he was there once when they eat up twenty men, two women, and one child. he could not tell twenty in English, but he numbered them by laying so many stones in a row, and pointed to me to tell them over.

After I had had this discourse with him, I asked him how far it was from our island to the shore, and whether the canoes were not often lost? He told me there was no danger, no canoes ever lost; but that after a little way out to sea, there was a current, and wind always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon. This I supposed to be no more than the sets of the tide, as going out, or coming in; but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the great

draught and reflux of the mighty river Oroonoke, in the mouth, or the gulf, of which river, as I thought afterwards, our island lay. I asked Friday a thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were near, and he told me all he knew with the greatest openness imaginable. I asked him the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other name than Caribs, from whence I easily understood that these were the Caribbees, which our maps place on the part of America which reaches from the mouth of the river Oroonoke to Guinea, and onwards to St. Martha. He told me, that up a great way beyond the moon, that was, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be w. from their country, there dwelt white, bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, and that they had killed "much mans," that was his word: by all which I understood he meant the Spaniards, whose cruelties in America had been spread over the whole countries, and were remembered by all the nations from father to son.

I inquired if he could tell me how I might get from this island, to those white men. He told me, "Yes, yes, go in two canoe." I could not understand what he meant, or make him describe to me what he meant by "two canoe," till at last, with great difficulty, I found he meant, that it must be in a boat as big as two canoes.

This part of Friday's discourse pleased me very much; and from this time I entertained some hopes that one time or other I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this place, and that this poor savage might be a means to help me to do it.

During the long time that Friday had now been with me, and that he began to speak to me and understand me, I was not wanting in my endeavours to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in his mind. Particularly, I asked him at one time, Who made him? The poor creature did not understand me at all, but thought I had asked who was his father: but I took it another way, and asked him, who made the sea, the ground he walked on, and the hills and woods? He told me it was one old Benamuckee, that lived beyond all; he could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very old—much older, he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars. I asked him then, If this old person had

made all things, why did not all things worship him? He looked very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence, said, "All things do say O! to him." I asked him if the people who die in his country went away any where? He said "Yes, they all went to Benamuckee." Then I asked him, whether those that eat men up went thither too? He said "Yes."

From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God. I told him that the great Maker of all things lived up there, pointing towards heaven; that he governs the world by the same power and providence by which He made it; that he was omnipotent, could do every thing for us, give every thing to us, take every thing from us; and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of JESUS CHRIST being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and His being able to hear us, even in heaven. I then explained to him, as well as I could, why our blessed REDEEMER took not on Him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abram, and how, for that reason, the fallen angels had no share in the redemption; that He came only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the like.

I had, indeed, more sincerity than knowledge in all the methods I took for this poor creature's instruction, and must acknowledge, what I believe all that act upon the same principle will find, that in laying things open to him, I really informed and instructed myself in many things, that either I did not know, or had not fully considered before, but which occurred naturally to my mind, upon my searching into them for the information of this poor savage; and as I had more affection in my inquiry after things upon this occasion than ever I felt before; so whether this poor creature was the better for me or not, I had great reason to be thankful that ever he came to me. My grief sat lighter upon me, my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure; and when I reflected, that in this solitary life, which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved myself to look up to Heaven, and to seek to the hand that had brought me there, but would now be made an instrument, under Providence, to save the life, and for ought I knew, the soul of a poor savage, and bring him to the knowledge of religion and of the Christian doctrine, that he might know CHRIST JESUS, to know whom is

life eternal;—when I reflected upon all these things, a secret joy ran through every part of my soul, and I frequently rejoiced that ever I was brought to this place, which I had so often thought the most dreadful of all afflictions that could possibly have befallen me.

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time; and the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and I was such as made the three years which we lived there together perfectly and completely happy, if any such thing as complete happiness can be found in a sub-lunary state.

After Friday and I became more intimately acquainted, and he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak to me, though in broken English, I acquainted him with my own story, or at least so much of it as related to my coming into the place; how I had lived there, and how long. I let him into the mystery (for such it was to him) of gunpowder and bullet, **and** taught him how to shoot. I gave him a knife, which **he** was wonderfully delighted with, and made him a belt with a loop hanging to it, to hold a hatchet, which was not only as good a weapon as a sword on some occasions, but much more useful on others.

I described to him the countries of Europe, and particularly England, which I come from. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and shewed him, as near as I could, the place where she lay. I shewed him our boat, which I could not stir with my whole strength, and which was now almost fallen to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, Friday stood musing a great while, and said nothing. I asked him what he was thinking on? At last he said, "Me see such boat like come to place at my nation."

I did not understand him for a good while, but, at last, when I had examined farther into it, I understood that a boat such as that had once come on shore upon the country where he lived; that is, as he explained it, was driven thither by stress of weather. I presently imagined that some European ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and that the boat might thus get loose, and drive ashore; but I was so dull, that I never once thought of men making their escape from a wreck thither, much less whence they might come; so I only inquired after a description of the boat.

Friday described the boat to me well enough, but I under-

stood him much better when he added, with some warmth, "We save the white mans from drown." Then I presently asked him, if there were any "white mans," as he called them, in the boat? "Yes," he said, "the boat full white mans." I asked him, how many. He told me, upon his fingers, seventeen. I asked him then, what become of them? he told me, "They dwell at my nation."

This put new thoughts into my head; for it occurred to me that these might be the men belonging to the ship that was cast away in sight of my island, as I now called it, and who, after the ship struck on the rock, and they saw her inevitably lost, had saved themselves in their boat, and had landed upon that wild shore, among the savages.

I next inquired of him what had become of them? He assured me they lived still there, and that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to eat. I asked him, how it came to pass they did not kill them, and eat them? he said, "No, they make brother with them;" and then he added, "They no eat mans but when make the war fight;" that is to say, they never eat any men, but such as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

It was some considerable time after this, that, being on the top of the hill, at the east side of the island—from whence, as I have said, I had in a clear day discovered the main land of America—Friday, the weather being very serene, looked earnestly towards the mainland, and in a kind of surprise fell a jumping and dancing, and called out to me (for I was at some distance from him). I asked him what was the matter. "O joy!" says he, "O glad! there see my country! there my nation!"

I observed an extraordinary sense of pleasure in his face; his eyes sparkled, and his countenance discovered a strange eagerness, as if he had a mind to be in his own country again, and this observation of mine put a great many thoughts into me, which made me at first not so easy about my new man Friday as I was before. I began now to think that if he could get back to his own nation again, he would not only forget his obligations to me, but all I had taught him; that he would give his countrymen an account of me, and come back, perhaps, with a hundred or two of them, and make a feast of me, at which he might be as merry as he used to be with those of his enemies when they were taken in war.

But I wronged the poor honest creature very much, for which I was heartily sorry afterwards. However, as my jealousy increased and kept hold of me some weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before; in which I was certainly in the wrong too, the honest, grateful creature having no thought about it but what consisted with the best principles, both as a religious Christian and as a grateful friend, as appeared afterwards to my full satisfaction.

Whilst my jealousy of him lasted, I was every day trying him, to see if he would discover any of the new thoughts which I suspected were in him; but I found every thing he said was so honest and so innocent, that I could find nothing to nourish my suspicion, and, in spite of all my uneasiness, he made me at last entirely his own again; nor did he in the least perceive that I was uneasy, and therefore I could not suspect him of deceit.

One day, walking up the hill, I called to him, and said, "Friday, do not you wish yourself in your own country, your own nation?" "Yes," he said; "be much glad to be at my own nation." "What would you do there?" said I. "Would you turn wild again, eat men's flesh, and be a savage as you were before?" He looked full of concern, and shaking his head, said, "No, no; Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn bread, cattle flesh, milk; no eat man again." "Why, then," said I to him, "they would kill you." He looked grave at that, and then said, "No, they no kill me, they love learn." He added, "that they learned much of the bearded men that came in the boat." Then I asked him if he would go back to them? He smiled at that, and told me he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a canoe for him. He told me he would go if I would go with him. "I go?" said I; "why, they would eat me." "No, no," said he; "me make them no eat you, me make them much love you." Then he told me, as well as he could, how kind they were to the seventeen bearded men who came on shore there in distress.

From this time, I confess, I had a mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join these bearded men, who, I made no question, were Spaniards or Portuguese; not doubting but if I could, we might find some method to escape from thence, being upon the continent and a good company to-

gether, better than I could from an island forty miles off, and alone without help. So, after some days, I told Friday I would give him a boat to go back to his own nation; and, carrying him to my frigate, which lay on the other side of the island, I shewed it him, and we both went into it.

I found he was a most dexterous fellow at managing a boat; and could make it go almost as fast again as I could. So when he was in, I said to him, "Well now, Friday, shall we go to your nation?" He looked very serious at my saying so, which, it seems, was because he thought the boat too small to go so far. I told him then I had a bigger; so the next day I went to the place where the first boat lay which I had made, but which I could not get into the water. He said that was big enough; but then, as I had taken no care of it, and it had lain two or three and twenty years there, it was in a very rotten condition. Friday told me such a boat would do very well, and would carry "much enough drink, bread."

I was by this time so fixed upon my design of going over to the continent, that I told him we would make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answered not a word, but looked very grave and sad. I asked him what was the matter with him? He asked me again thus, "Why you angry with Friday? what me done?" I asked him what he meant? I told him I was not angry with him at all. "No angry, no angry!" says he, repeating the words several times; "why send Friday home away to his nation?" "Why," said I, "Friday, did you not say you wished you were there?" "Yes, yes," says he, "I wish both there; no wish Friday there, no master there." "No, no, Friday," said I, "you shall go without me; leave me here to live by myself, as I did before." He looked confused again at that word, and running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he took it up hastily, and came and gave it to me. "What must I do with this?" said I to him. "You take kill Friday," says he. "What must I kill you for?" said I again. He answered quickly, "What you send Friday away for? Take kill Friday; no send Friday away." This he ~~spoke so~~ earnestly that I saw tears stand in his eyes; ~~in a word~~, I so plainly discovered the utmost affection in him to me, that I told him then and often after, that I would ~~never~~ send him away if he was willing to stay with me.

Still I felt a strong inclination to attempt an escape, founded on the supposition, as I have said, namely, that



there were seventeen bearded men there; and therefore, without any more delay, I went to work with Friday to find out a large tree proper to fell, to make a large canoe of. There were trees enough to have built a little fleet, not of canoes only, but even of large vessels; but the main thing was, to get one so near the water that we might launch it when it was made, and so avoid the mistake I committed before.

At last Friday pitched upon a tree, and I directed him how to cut it out with tools, which, after I shewed him how to use, he did very handily; and in about a month's hard labour we finished it, and made it very handsome, especially when, with our axes, which I shewed him how to handle, we cut and hewed the outside into the true shape of a boat. After this, however, it cost us nearly a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were inch by inch, upon great rollers into the water; but when she was in, she would have carried twenty men with great ease.



The next thing was, to make a mast and sail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable. As to a mast, that was easy enough; so I pitched upon a straight young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, and set Friday to work to cut it down, giving him directions how to shape it. As to the sail, that was my particular care. I knew I had pieces of old sails enough, and having found two pieces which appeared pretty good, with these I went to work, and with a great deal of pains and awkward tedious

stitching for want of needles, I at length made a three-cornered thing like what we call in England a shoulder-of-mutton sail, to go with a boom at bottom and a little short sprit at the top, such as our ship's long-boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage, because it was such a one as I had to the boat in which I made my escape from Barbary.

I had now entered on the seven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three last years that I had my man Friday with me ought rather to be left out of the account, my habitation being quite of another kind than in all the rest of my time. I kept the anniversary of my landing here with the same thankfulness to God for His mercies as at first; and if I had cause of acknowledgment before, I had much more so now, having such additional testimonies of the care of Providence over me, as well as the hope of being speedily delivered; for I had an indelible impression upon my thoughts, that my deliverance was at hand, and that I should not be another year in this place.

However, I went on with my husbandry, digging, planting, and fencing, as usual; I gathered and cured my grapes, and did every necessary thing, as before. The rainy season was in the mean time commenced, when I kept more within doors than at any other times, so we had our new vessel stowed as secure as we could, by bringing her up into the creek, and hauling her up to the shore, at high-water mark. I also made my man Friday dig a little dock, just big enough to hold her, and deep enough to float her in; and to keep the rain off, we laid a great many boughs of trees, so thick, that she was as well thatched as a house; and thus we waited for the months of November and December, in which I designed to make my adventure.

When the settled season returned, I began to prepare for setting sail by laying by a certain quantity of provision, as stores for the voyage; for I intended, in a week or fortnight's time, to open the dock, and launch out our boat. I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I called to Friday, and bid him go to the sea-shore, and see if he could find a turtle, a thing which we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs as well as the flesh. Friday had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outward wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he had set his feet on; and before I had time to speak to him, he cried out to me, "O master! O master O sorrow! O bad!" "What's the matter, Friday?" said I. "O yonder there," said he, "one, two, three canoe! one, two, three!" "Well, Friday," said I, "do not be frightened;" so I comforted him as well as I could. However, I saw the poor fellow was terribly scared, for nothing ran in his head

but that they were come to look for him, and would cut him in pieces, and eat him. and the poor fellow trembled so, that I scarcely knew what to do with him. "But," said I, "Friday, we must resolve to fight them. Can you fight, Friday?" "Me shoot," says he, "but there come many great number." "No matter for that," said I again, "our guns will frighten those we do not kill." So I asked him, whether, if I resolved to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bid him? He said, "Me die, when you bid die, master;" so I went and fetched a good dram of rum, and gave him; for I had been so careful of my rum that I had a great deal left. When he had drank it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces which we always carried, and load them with large swan-shot, as big as small pistol-bullets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs and five small bullets each; my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each: I hung my great sword, as usual, naked by my side, and gave Friday his hatchet.

When I had thus prepared myself, I took my glass, and went up to the side of the hill, to see what I could discover; and I soon found that there were one-and-twenty savages, three prisoners, and three canoes, and that their whole business seemed to be the banquet upon these three human bodies; a barbarous feast indeed, but nothing more than, as I knew well, was usual with them.

I observed also, that they had landed, not where they had done when Friday made his escape, but nearer to my creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came close almost down to the sea. This, with the abhorrence of the inhuman errand these wretches came upon, filled me with such indignation, that I came down again to Friday, and told him I was resolved to go down to them, and attack them; and asked him if he would stand by me. He had now got over his fright, and his spirits being a little raised with the dram I had given him, he was very cheerful, and told me, as before, that "he would die when I bid die."

I now took and divided the arms between us; I gave Friday one pistol to stick in his girdle, with three guns upon his shoulder; I took one pistol, and the other three guns myself. I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave Friday a large bag with more powder and bullet; and, as to orders, I charged him to keep close behind me, and not to

stir, or shoot, or do any thing till I bid him, and, in the mean time, not to speak a word. I then fetched a compass to our right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to get into the wood, so that I might come within shot of them before I could be discovered, which I had seen by my glass it was easy to do.

I entered the wood, and with all possible wariness and silence (Friday following close at my heels) I marched till I came to the skirt of the wood, on the side which was next to them. Here I called softly to Friday, and shewing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go there, and bring me word if he could see plainly what they were doing. He did so, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be distinctly viewed there; that they were all about the fire, eating the flesh of one of their prisoners, and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, whom, he said, they would kill next. He told me, it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men whom he had told me of, that came to their country in the boat. This fired the very soul within me: I was filled with horror at the very naming of the white, bearded man, and going to the tree, I saw plainly, by my glass, a white man, who lay upon the beach, with his hands and his feet tied with flags; I saw, too, that he was a European, and had clothes on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which, by going a little way about, I saw I might come at undiscovered, and that then I should be within half-shot of them. So I restrained my eagerness, though I was indeed impatient to the highest degree; and going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which extended all the way till I came to the other tree, and then I came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to lose; for nineteen of the wretches sat upon the ground all close huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor Christian, and bring him, perhaps limb by limb, to their fire, and they were actually stooping down to untie the bands at his feet. I turned to Friday; "Now, Friday," said I, "do exactly as you see me do: fail in nothing." So I set down one of the muskets

and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and Friday did the like by his, and with the other musket I took my aim at the savages, bidding him do the same. Then asking him if he was ready, he said, "Yes." "Then fire at them," said I; and the same moment I fired also."

Friday took his aim so much better than I, that on the side that he shot he killed two of them, and wounded three more; and on my side, I killed one, and wounded two. They were, you may be sure, in a dreadful consternation: all of them, who were not hurt, jumped up upon their feet, but did not immediately know which way to run, or which way to look, for they knew not whence the destruction came. Friday kept his eyes close upon me, that he might observe what I did; so as soon as the first shot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling-piece, and Friday did the like: he saw me cock, and present; he did the same. "Are you ready, Friday?" said I. "Yes," said he. "Let fly then," said I, "in the Name of GOD;" and with that I fired again among the amazed wretches, and so did Friday, and as our pieces were now loaden with swan-shot, or small pistol-bullets, we found only two drop; but so many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures; and three more fell soon after, though not quite dead.

"Now, Friday," said I, laying down the discharged pieces, and taking up the musket, which was yet loaded, "follow me," which he did, with a great deal of courage, upon which I rushed out of the wood, and shewed myself, and Friday close at my feet. As soon I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade Friday do so too, and running as fast as I could, which, by the way, was not very fast, being laden with arms, I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, as I said, lying upon the beach, between the place where they sat and the sea. The two butchers, who were just going to work with him, had, at the surprise of our first fire, fled in a terrible fright to the sea-side, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the rest after them. I turned to Friday, and bid him step forward, and fire at them; he understood me immediately, and running about forty yards, to be near them, he shot at them, and I thought he had killed them all, for they all fell in a heap into the boat; however, he killed two of them, and wounded a third, so that he lay in the bottom of the boat, as if he had been dead.

While Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim, and, loosing his hands and feet, I lifted him up, and asked him in the Portuguese tongue, what he was? He answered in Latin, "Christianus;" but he was so weak and faint, that he could scarcely stand or speak. So I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he ate; then I asked him, what countryman he was, and he said, "Espagnole;" and, being a little recovered, he let me know, by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. "Signor," said I, with as much Spanish as I could muster, "we will talk afterwards, but we must fight now: if you have any strength left, take this pistol and sword, and lay about you." He took them very thankfully, and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but, as if they had put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and cut two of them in pieces in an instant.

I kept my piece in my hand still, without firing, that I might have my charge ready, because I had given the Spaniard my pistol and sword; so I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from whence we first fired, and fetch the arms that lay there, which he did with great swiftness, and then giving him my musket, I sat down myself to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading these pieces, there happened a fierce engagement between the Spaniard and one of the savages, who made at him with one of their great wooden swords. The Spaniard, who was as bold and as brave as could be imagined, though weak, had fought this Indian a good while, and had made two great wounds in his head; but the savage, being a stout lusty fellow, had closed in with him, and thrown him down, and was wringing my sword out of his hand, when the Spaniard, though undermost, wisely quitting his sword, drew the pistol from his girdle, shot the savage through the body, and killed him on the spot, before I, who was running to help him, could come up to him.

Friday, being now left at his liberty, pursued the flying wretches with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet, and with that he despatched those three who, as I said before, were wounded at first and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with.

The Spaniard coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages, and wounded them both, but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood. There Friday pursued them, and killed one of them, but the other was too nimble for him, and though he was wounded, yet he plunged himself into the sea, and swam with all his might off to those two who were left in the canoe; which three in the canoe, with one wounded, were all that escaped our hands of one-and-twenty.

The account is as follows:—Three killed at our shot from the tree; two killed at the next shot; two killed by Friday in the boat; two killed by Friday, of those at first wounded; one killed by Friday in the wood; three killed by the Spaniard; four killed, being found dropped here and there, of their wounds, or killed by Friday in his chase of them; four escaped in the boat, whereof one wounded, if not dead; in all one-and-twenty.

Friday would fain have had me take one of the canoes, and pursue the four who had escaped; and indeed, I was in great fear lest, carrying the news home to their people, they should come back, perhaps, with two or three hundred of their canoes, and overcome us by mere numbers. So I consented to pursue them by sea; and running to one of their canoes, I jumped in, and bade Friday follow me; but when I was in the canoe, I was surprised to find another poor creature lie there alive, bound hand and foot for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what the matter was; for he had not been able to look up over the side of the boat, he was tied so fast. I immediately cut the flags, and would have helped him up; but he could not stand, or speak, but groaned most piteously; believing, no doubt, that he was only unbound in order to be killed.

When Friday came to him, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram, which, with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat. But when Friday came to hear him speak, and looked in his face, it would have moved any one to tears, to have seen how he kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head, and then sung and jumped about again like a distracted creature. It was a good

while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter; but when he came a little to himself, he told me that it was his father.

I can hardly express how it moved me, to see what ecstasy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage at the sight of his father, and of his being delivered from death; nor indeed can I describe half the extravagances of his affection after this; when he went into him, he would sit down by him, and hold his father's head close to his bosom half an hour together; then he would take his arms and ankles, which were numbed and stiff with the binding, and chafe and rub them with his hands; and I, perceiving what the case was, gave him some rum out of my bottle to rub them with, which did them a great deal of good.

This action put an end to our pursuit of the canoe, which was now almost out of sight; and it was as well for us, for it blew so hard within two hours after, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the north-west, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached their own coast.

But to return to Friday; he was so busy about his father, that I could not find in my heart to take him off for some time, but after I thought he could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleased to the highest degree. Then I asked him, if he had given his father any bread? He shook his head, and said, "None: ugly dog eat all up self." So I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried on purpose; I also gave him a dram for himself, but he would not taste it, but carried it to his father. I had in my pocket also two or three bunches of raisins, and I gave him a handful of them for his father. He had no sooner given his father these raisins, than I saw him come out of the boat, and run away as if he had been bewitched. He ran at such a rate that he was out of sight, as it were, in an instant, and though I called and hallooed after him, it was all one; away he went, and in a quarter of an hour I saw him come back again, though not so fast as he went, and as he came nearer, I found his pace was slacker, and that he had something in his hand.

When he came up to me, I found he had been home for an earthen jug, or pot, to bring his father some fresh water, and that he had got two more cakes or loaves of bread. The



bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father, which revived him more than all the rum or spirits I had given him, for he was just fainting with thirst.

When his father had drank, I called to him, to know if there was any water left; he said, "Yes;" and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was in as much want of it as his father; and I sent a cake to the Spaniard too, who was indeed very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place, under the shade of a tree. When I saw that upon Friday's coming to him with the water he sat up and drank, and took the bread, and began to eat, I went to him, and gave him a handful of raisins, at which he looked up in my face, with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulness that could appear in any countenance. He was so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand up on his feet; he tried to do it two or three times, but was not able, his ankles were so swelled and so painful to him; so I bade him sit still, and caused Friday to rub his ankles, and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's.

I then spoke to the Spaniard to let Friday help him up, if he could, and lead him to the boat, and then he should carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him. But Friday, a lusty strong fellow, took the Spaniard quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and set him down softly upon the side of the canoe, with his feet in the inside, and then lifted him quite in, and set him close to his father, and presently stepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard too; so he brought them both safe into our creek, and leaving them in the boat, ran away to fetch the other canoe. As he passed me, I spoke to him, and asked him whither he went? He told me, "Go fetch more boat;" so away he went like the wind; and he had the other canoe in the creek almost as soon as I got to it by land; so he wafted me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat. They were neither of them, however, able to walk, so that poor Friday knew not what to do. To remedy this, I called to him to bid them sit down on the bank while he came to me, when I made a kind of handbarrow to lay them on, and Friday and I carried them up both together upon it. But when we got them to the outside of our wall or fortification, we were worse off than before, for

it was impossible to get them over: so I set to work again, and Friday and I, in about two hours' time, had made a very handsome tent, covered with old sails, and above that with boughs of trees, in the space without our outward fence, and between that and the grove of young wood which I had planted; and here we made them two beds of such things as I had, namely, of good rice-straw, with blankets laid upon it to lie on, and another to cover them on each bed.

As soon as I had secured my two rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest upon, I began to think of some provisions for them. First I ordered Friday to take a yearling goat to be killed, which done, I cut off the hinder quarter, and, chopping it into small pieces, I set Friday to work to boiling and stewing, and thus made them a very good dish of flesh and broth. Having set a table for them, I sat down and ate my dinner with them, and, as well as I could, cheered them and encouraged them, Friday being my interpreter, especially to his father, and indeed to the Spaniard too; for the Spaniard spoke the language of the savages pretty well.

By-and-by I began to enter into conversation with my two new subjects, and to ask questions of them. Among other things I learned from the Spaniard that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and Portuguese who, having been cast away and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace indeed with the savages, but sorely put to it for necessities, and indeed for life. I asked him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a Spanish ship bound from the Rio de la Plata to the Havanna, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and silver, and to bring back what goods they could meet with there; that they had five Portuguese seamen on board that they took out of another wreck; that five of their own men were drowned when first the ship was lost; and that those who escaped arrived almost starved on the cannibal coast, where they expected to have been devoured every moment. He told me they had some arms with them, but that they were perfectly useless, for that they had neither powder nor ball, the sea having spoiled all their powder except a little which they used at their first landing to provide themselves with food.

I asked him if they had never formed any design of making their escape. He said they had many consultations about it;

but that having neither vessel nor tools to build one, nor provisions of any kind, their counsels always ended in tears and despair. I then asked him how he thought they would receive a proposal from me which might tend towards an escape; and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done. I told him, with freedom, that I feared mostly their treachery and ill-usage of me if I put my life in their hands; for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man, nor did men always square their dealings by the obligations they had received, so much as they did by the advantages they expected. I added, that but for this I was persuaded, if they were all here, we might with so many hands build a bark large enough to carry us all away either to the Brazils southward, or to the islands or Spanish coast northward.

He answered, with a great deal of candour, that their condition was so miserable, and they were so sensible of it, that he believed they would abhor the thought of using any man unkindly that should contribute to their deliverance; and that, if I pleased, he would go to them with the old man, and discourse with them about it, and return again and bring me their answer; that he would make conditions with them upon their solemn oath, that they should be absolutely under my direction as their commander and captain; and that they should swear upon the Holy Gospel to be true to me, and go to such Christian country as I should direct, and no other; and to be governed wholly and absolutely by my orders till they were landed safely in such country as I intended; and that he would bring a contract from them under their hands for that purpose.

Upon these assurances I resolved to relieve them if possible, and to send the old savage and this Spaniard over to them to treat; but when he had got all things in readiness to go, the Spaniard himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it on one hand, and so much sincerity on the other hand, that I could not but be very well satisfied with it, and, by his advice, I put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half a year. The case was this:

He had been with us now about a month, during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of Providence, for my support; and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice I had laid up, which,

though it was more than enough for myself, yet it was not sufficient for my family, now it was increased to four. But much less would it be so, if his countrymen, who were, as he said, fourteen still alive, should come over; and least of all would it be enough to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to America. So he told me he thought it would be more advisable, to let him and the two others dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow; and that we should wait another harvest, that we might have a supply of corn for his countrymen when they came; for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered otherwise than out of one difficulty into another. "You know," says he, "the children of Israel, though they rejoiced at first at their being delivered out of Egypt, yet rebelled even against God Himself that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the wilderness."

His caution was so seasonable, that I could not but be very well pleased with his proposal, as well as satisfied with his fidelity: so we all four of us fell to digging, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted; and in about a month's time, by the end of which it was seed-time, we had got land enough prepared in which to sow twenty-two bushels of barley and sixteen jars of rice, which was, indeed, all the seed we had to spare.

At the same time I laboured to increase my little flock of tame goats as much as I could; and to this purpose I made Friday and the Spaniard go out one day, and myself, with Friday, the next day; and by this means we got above twenty young kids to breed up with the rest; for whenever we shot the dam, we saved the kids, and added them to our flock; but above all, it being the season for curing the grapes, I caused such a prodigious quantity to be hung up in the sun, that I believe, had we been at Alicant, where the raisins of the sun are cured, we should have filled sixty or eighty barrels; and these, with our bread, were a great part of our food.

It was now harvest, and our crop in good order: it was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the island, but it was enough to answer our end; for though all the sixteen Spaniards had been on shore with me, we should have had

enough ; or, if we had been ready for a voyage, it would have victualled our ship so as to carry us to any part of America.

And now, having a full supply of food for all the guests I expected, I gave the Spaniard leave to go over to the main, to see what he could do with those he left behind him there. I gave him a strict charge not to bring any man with him, who would not first swear, in the presence of himself and the old savage, that he would no way injure, fight with, or attack the person he should find in the island, who had sent them in order to their deliverance ; but that they would stand by and defend him ; and wherever they went, would be entirely subject to his commands.

With these instructions, the Spaniard and Friday's father went away in one of the canoes. I gave each of them a musket, and about eight charges of powder and ball, admonishing them, however, to be very careful of both, and not to use them but upon the most urgent occasions. I gave them provisions of bread and of dried grapes sufficient for themselves for many days, and sufficient for their countrymen for about eight days' time ; and wishing them a good voyage, I let them go, agreeing with them about a signal they should hang out at their return, by which I should know them again, when they came back, at a distance, before they came on shore.

They went away with a fair gale on the day that the moon was at full ; by my account, in the month of October ; but as for an exact reckoning of days, after I had once lost it, I could never recover it again ; nor had I kept even the number of years so punctually as to be sure that I was right, though, as it proved when I afterwards examined my account, I had been so.

## CHAPTER VI.



I HAD waited for eight days for them, when a strange and unforeseen accident occurred. I was fast asleep one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud, "Master, master, they are come! they are come!"

I jumped up, and regardless of danger, went out as soon as I could get my clothes on, through my little grove, but what was my surprise when, turning my eyes to the sea, I saw a boat at about a league and a half off, standing in for the shore,

and as I observed coming from the southernmost end of the island. Upon this I called Friday, and bid him keep within, for these were not the people we looked for, and that we did not know yet whether they were friends or enemies. In the next place, I went in to fetch my glass, to see what I could make of them, and I had scarce set my foot on the hill, when I plainly discovered a ship lying at an anchor, at about two leagues and a half distance from me, S.S.E., but not above a league and a half from the shore. By my observation it appeared to be an English ship, and the boat an English long-boat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in, though the joy of seeing a ship, and one as I believed of my own country, was such as I cannot describe; but yet some secret doubts hung about me—I cannot tell whence they came—bidding me keep upon my guard. In the first place, it occurred to me to

consider what business an English ship could have in that part of the world. It was not the way to or from any part of the world where the English had any traffic, and as I knew there had been no storms to drive them in here, I suspected that if they were really English, it was most probable they were here on no good design, and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

I had not kept myself long in this posture, when I saw the boat draw near the shore, as if they looked for a creek to put in at for the convenience of landing; however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not see the little inlet where I formerly landed my rafts, but ran their boat on shore upon the beach, at about half a mile off, which was very happy for me; for otherwise they would have landed just, as I may say, at my door, and might soon have beaten me out of my castle, and, perhaps, plundered me of all I had.

When they were on shore, I was fully satisfied they were Englishmen. There were in all eleven men, of whom three I found were unarmed, and (as I thought) bound; and when the first four or five of them jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat as if prisoners. One of the three I could perceive using the most passionate gestures of entreaty, affliction, and despair; the other two lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned indeed, but not to such a degree as the first.

I was perfectly confounded at this sight, and knew not what the meaning of it all could be. Friday called out to me in English, as well as he could, "O master! you see English mans eat prisoners as well as savage mans." "Why," said I, "Friday, do you think they are going to eat them, then?" "Yes," says Friday, "they will eat them." "No, no," said I, "Friday; they may murder them indeed, but you may be sure they will not eat them."

All this while I had no thought of what the matter really was, but stood trembling with horror at the sight, expecting every moment when the three prisoners should be killed; nay, once I saw one of the villains lift up his arm with a cutlass to strike one of the poor men; at which all the blood seemed to run chill in my veins.

I wished heartily now for my Spaniard, and the savage that was gone with him; or that I had any way of getting within shot of them undiscovered, that I might rescue the

three men, for I did not see that they had any fire-arms among them. However, as it happened, it fell out quite another way.

After I had observed the outrageous usage of the three men by the seamen, I saw that the fellows ran scattering themselves about, as if they wanted to see the country. I observed, that the three other men had liberty to go also where they pleased; but they sat down all three upon the ground very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

It was just high-water when the people came on shore; and while parleying with the prisoners they brought, and rambling about to see what kind of a place they were in, they had carelessly stayed till the water had ebbed away, leaving their boat aground.

They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drank a little too much brandy, fell asleep; however, one of them waking sooner than the other, and finding the boat too fast aground for him to stir it, hallooed for the rest who were straggling about, upon which they all soon came to the boat; but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a soft oozy sand, almost like a quicksand. In this condition, like true seamen, who are, perhaps, the least of all mankind given to thought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one of them say aloud to another, "Let her alone, Jack, can't ye? she'll float next tide." By which I was fully confirmed in my conjectures as to what country they were of.

All this while I did not once dare to stir out of my castle any farther than to my place of observation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was, to think how well I was fortified. I knew it was ten hours before the boat could be afloat again, and by that time it would be dark, and I should be more at liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any. In the mean time I prepared myself for battle, as before, though with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy. I made Friday also, whom I had taught to be an excellent marksman, load himself with arms.

It was my design, as I have said, not to make any attempt till it was dark; but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that they were all gone straggling into the woods, and, as I thought, were lain down to sleep; while the



three poor distressed men, too anxious no doubt about their condition to get any sleep, had sat down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and, as I thought, out of sight of any of the rest.

Upon this I resolved to discover myself to them, and learn something of their condition. Coming as near them undiscovered as I could, and before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them in Spanish, "What are ye, gentlemen?" They started up at the noise; but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth appearance that I made. They made no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, upon which I spoke to them in English. "Gentlemen," said I, "do not be surprised at me: perhaps you may have a friend near you, when you did not expect it." "He must be sent directly from Heaven, then," said one of them very gravely to me, pulling off his hat at the same time, "for our condition is past the help of man." "All help is from Heaven, sir," said I; "but can you put a stranger in the way how to help you? for you seem to me to be in some great distress."

The poor man, with tears running down his face, and trembling, looked like one astonished, and replied, "Am I talking to GOD or man? Is it a real man, or an angel?" "Be in no fear about that, sir," said I; "if GOD had sent an angel to relieve you, he would have come better clothed, and armed after another manner than you see me; pray lay aside your fears; I am a man, an Englishman, and disposed to assist you; you see I have one servant; we have arms and ammunition; tell us freely, can we serve you? what is your case?"

"Our story," said he, "sir, is too long to tell you, while our enemies are so near; but in short, sir, I was commander of that ship; my men have mutinied against me; they have been hardly prevailed on not to murder me, and at last have set me on shore with these two men, one my mate, the other a passenger, in this desolate place, where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited; and we know not yet what to think of it."

"Where are those brutes, your enemies?" said I; "do you know where they are gone?" "There they are, sir," said he, pointing to a thicket of trees; "my heart trembles lest they may have seen us, and heard you speak; if they have, they will certainly murder us all."

"Have they any fire-arms?" said I. He answered, they had only two pieces, and one left behind in the boat. "Well, then," said I, "leave the rest to me; I see they are all asleep; 'tis an easy thing to kill them all; but shall we not rather take them prisoners?" He told me there were two desperate villians among them that it was scarcely safe to shew any mercy to; but if they were secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty. I asked him, which they were. He told me, he could not at that distance describe them, but he would obey my orders in any thing I should direct. "Well," said I, "let us retreat out of their view or hearing, lest they awake, and we will consult further." So they willingly went back with me, till the woods concealed us from them.

"Look you, sir," said I; "if I venture upon your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me?" He anticipated me by saying, that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be wholly under my direction in every thing; and if the ship was not recovered, he would live and die with me in what part of the world soever I would send him; and the two other men said the same.

"Well," said I, "my conditions are but two: first, that while you stay on this island, you will not pretend to any authority here, but if I put arms into your hands, you will upon all occasions give them up to me when required, and in the mean time be governed by my orders. Secondly, that if the ship be recovered, you will carry me and my man to England, passage free."

He gave me all the assurance that the faith of man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable demands, and besides, would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it upon all occasions as long as he lived.

"Well, then," said I, "here are three muskets for you, with powder and ball; tell me next what you think is proper to be done." He shewed all the testimony of his gratitude that he was able, but offered to be wholly guided by me; I told him I hardly knew what was for the best; but the only thing I could think of was, to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any were not killed at the first volley, and offered to submit, we might save them, and so put it wholly upon God's providence to direct the shot.

He said, very modestly, that he was loth to kill them, if he

could help it; but that those two were incorrigible villains, who had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship, and if they escaped, we should be undone still, for they would go on board, and bring the whole ship's company, and destroy us all. "Well, then," said I, "necessity legitimates my advice; for it is the only way to save our lives." However, seeing him still cautious of shedding blood, I told him, they should go themselves, and manage as they found best.

In the middle of this discourse we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet. I asked him, "If either of them were the men who he had said were the heads of the mutiny?" He said, "No." "Well, then," said I, "you may let them go; Providence seems to have wakened them on purpose to save themselves. Now," added I, "if the rest escape you, it is your fault."

With this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and the pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, each man with a piece in his hand. The two men, who were with him, going first, made some noise, at which one of the seamen, who was awake, turned about, and seeing them coming, cried out to the rest; but it was too late then; for the moment he cried out, the captain's companions fired, he wisely reserving his own piece. They had aimed so well at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded, but not being dead, he started up on his feet, and called eagerly for help to the other; the captain, stepping up to him, told him it was too late to cry for help, and that he should rather call upon God to forgive his villany; and with that word knocked him down with the stock of his musket, so that he never spoke more. There were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded. By this time I was come; and when they saw their danger, and that it was in vain to resist, they begged for mercy. The captain told them he would spare their lives, if they would give him any assurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came. They gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, upon which he was willing to believe them and spare their lives, which I did not oppose; only I desired him to keep them bound hand and foot while they were upon the island.

While this was doing, I sent Friday and the captain's mate to the boat, with orders to secure her, and bring away the oars and sail, which they did; and by-and-by, three straggling men, that were (happily for them) parted from the rest, came back upon hearing the guns fired; they seeing their captain, who before was their prisoner, now their conqueror, submitted to be bound also, and so our victory was complete.

It now remained that the captain and I should inquire into one another's circumstances. I began first, and told him my whole history, which he heard with amazement, particularly the wonderful manner in which I had been furnished with provisions and ammunition; indeed as my story was a whole collection of wonders, it affected him deeply; but when he reflected from thence upon himself, and how I seemed to have been preserved there on purpose to save his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not speak a word more.

After this, I brought him and his two men into my apartment, where I refreshed them with such provisions as I had, and shewed them all the contrivances I had made during my long residence in that place.

All I shewed them, all I said to them, was perfectly amazing, but above all, the captain admired my fortification, and how perfectly I had concealed my retreat with a grove of trees, which, having now been planted nearly twenty years, and the trees growing much faster than in England, had become a little wood, and so thick that it was impassable at every part, except at that side where I had reserved my little winding passage into it. I told him this was my castle and my residence, but that I had a seat in the country, as most princes have, whither I could retreat occasionally, and this I would shew him too another time, but at present our business was to consider how to recover the ship. He agreed with me as to that, but told me he was at a loss what measures to take, for that there were still six-and-twenty hands on board, who having entered into a conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be hardened now to desperation, and would brave it to the last, knowing that if they were overcome they would be brought to the gallows as soon as they came to England, or to any of the English colonies; in short, that it would be dangerous to attack them with so small a number as we were.

I mused for some time upon what he had said, and found

it was a very rational conclusion, and that therefore something was to be resolved on very speedily, as well to draw the men on board into some snare for their surprise, as to prevent their landing upon us, and destroying us. It presently occurred to me, that in a little while the ship's crew, wondering what was become of their comrades and of the boat, would certainly come on shore in their boat to look after them; and that then, perhaps, they might come armed, and be too strong for us: this he allowed was reasonable.

Upon this I told him, the first thing to do was, to stave the boat, which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off, and taking every thing out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to float. Accordingly, we went on board, took the arms, and whatever provisions we found there, and having shoved the boat up upon the beach, so high that the tide would not float her off at high-water, and, besides, having broken a hole in her bottom, too big to be easily stopped, we sat down to think what we should next do. Presently we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her flag, as a signal for the boat to come on board, but no boat stirring, they fired several times, making other signals for her return. At last, when all their signals and firing proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them get another boat out and row towards the shore; and we found, as they approached, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had fire-arms with them.

We had a full view of them as they came, and a plain sight even of their faces, by which means the captain knew the persons and characters of all of them. He said, that there were three very honest fellows, who, he was sure, were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpowered and frightened; but that as for the boatswain, who, it seems, was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew, and were, no doubt, made desperate in their new enterprise; and he was terribly apprehensive that they would be too powerful for us.

I smiled at him, and told him that men in our circumstances, were past the influence of fear. I asked him, too, what he thought of the events of my life, and whether a deliverance was not worth venturing for? "And where, sir," said I, "is your belief of my being preserved here on purpose to save

your life, which elevated you a little while ago? Depend upon it," I added, "that every man of them that comes ashore is our own, and shall die or live as they behave to us."

As I spoke this with a raised voice and cheerful countenance, I found it greatly encouraged him; so we set vigorously to work. We had, upon the first appearance of the boat's coming from the ship, resolved on separating the prisoners, and had, indeed, secured them effectually. Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured, I sent with Friday and one of the three delivered men to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or discovered, or of finding their way out of the woods, if they could have escaped: here they left them bound, but gave them provisions, and assured them, if they continued there quietly, they should have their liberty in a day or two, but that if they attempted to escape, they should be put to death without mercy.

The other prisoners had better usage; two of them were kept pinioned indeed, because the captain could not trust them, but the other two were taken into my service upon his recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us. Thus with these and the three honest men, we were seven men well armed, and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were coming, considering that the captain had said there were three or four honest men among them also.

As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came all on shore, hauling the boat up after them. This I was glad to see, for I was afraid they would have left the boat at anchor some distance from the shore, with some hands in her to guard her, and so we should not have been able to seize the boat.

Being on shore, the first thing they did was to run to the other boat; and it was easy to see they were greatly surprised to find her stripped of all that was in her, and a hole in her bottom. After this, they set up two or three great shouts, hallooing with all their might, to try if they could make their companions hear; then they came all close in a ring, and fired a volley of their small arms, which made the woods ring; but it was all in vain; those in the cave, we were sure, could not hear, and those in our keeping, though

they heard it well enough, yet durst give no answer. They were so astonished at all this, that, as they told us afterwards, they resolved to go all on board again to their ship, and let their companions know that the men were all murdered, and the long-boat staved; accordingly, they immediately launched the boat again, and got all of them on board.

The captain was terribly alarmed at this, thinking they would set sail, and give their companions up for lost, and so he should still lose the ship, which he was in hopes we should have recovered; but he was soon as much alarmed the other way.

They had not been long put off with the boat, than we perceived them all coming on shore again, but with this new scheme, namely, to leave three men in the boat, while the rest were to go on shore, and look for their fellows.

This was a great disappointment to us, and we were at a loss what to do; for our seizing these seven men on shore would be no advantage to us if we let the boat escape, because they would then row away to the ship, and the rest of them would be sure to set sail, and so our chance of recovering the ship would be lost. However, we had no remedy but to wait and see what would turn out. The seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat put her off to a good distance from the land, and came to anchor to wait for them, so that it was impossible for us to get at them.

Those that came on shore kept close together, marching towards the top of the little hill under which my habitation lay; but when they had got to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way into the valley and woods, which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, apparently for the purpose of consultation. Had they thought fit to go to sleep there, as the others had done, our course would have been plain; but they were, no doubt, too full of apprehension for that.

We waited a great while, though very impatient for their removing, and very uneasy; at last we saw them all start up, and march down toward the sea. As soon as I perceived this, I imagined it to be as it really was,—that they had

given over their search, and were going back again; at which the captain was sorely alarmed; but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered the purpose exactly.

I ordered Friday and the captain's mate to go over the little creek westward, towards the place where Friday was rescued, and as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile distance, to halloo as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them: then as soon as they heard the seamen answer them, to return it again, and keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far as possible into the island, and among the woods, and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed them.

Accordingly just as they were going into the boat, Friday and the mate hallooed, and they presently heard them, and, answering, ran along the shore westward towards the voice, when they were stopped by the creek, where, the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up and carry them over, as I expected they would. When they had crossed over, I observed that the boat being a good way up into the creek, and as it were in a harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a tree on the shore.

This was just what I wished for, so leaving Friday and the mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek, we came upon the two men before they were aware, one of them being on shore, and the other in the boat. The fellow on shore was half asleep, and as he started up, the captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to the one in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down; besides, he was, it appeared, one of the three that were not so determined in the mutiny as the rest, and therefore was easily persuaded not only to yield, but afterwards to join himself willingly to our party.

In the mean time, Friday and the mate managed so well with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another,



till they not only tired them out, but left them where they were sure they could not get back to the boat before it was dark; and, indeed, they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and to fall upon them, so as to make sure work with them.

It was several hours after Friday came back to me before they returned to their boat; and we could hear the foremost of them, long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along, and could also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and that they were not able to come any faster;—all which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat; but it is impossible to express their confusion, when they found it a-ground in the creek, the tide ebbcd, and their two men gone. We could hear them call to one another in a most lamentable manner, telling one another that they had got into an enchanted island; that either there were inhabitants in it, and they should all be murdered, or else that there were devils or spirits, and they should be all carried away and destroyed. After some time, we could see them run about wringing their hands, like men in despair; sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come ashore again, and walk about, and so the same thing over again.

My men would fain have had me give them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark; but I was desirous of taking them at some advantage, so as to slay as few of them as I could; and, especially, I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our own men, knowing that the others were well armed. I therefore resolved to wait and see if they would separate; and to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer, ordering Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet, as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and to get as near as possible to them before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture before the boat-swain, who was the principal ringleader in the mutiny, and had now shewn himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of the crew. The captain was so eager, on seeing this principal

rogue in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of his aim, for they only heard his voice before; but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday, starting upon their feet, let fly at them. The boatswain was killed on the spot; the next man was shot in the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after; and the third made off.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men; viz. myself, generalissimo, Friday, my lieutenant-general, the captain and his two men, and the three prisoners of war, that we had trusted with arms.

As we came upon them in the dark, they could not see our number; and I made the man they had left in the boat, who was now one of us, call them by name to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so perhaps reduce them to terms. All this fell out just as we desired, for, it might well be supposed, as their condition then was, that they would be glad to capitulate; so he called out, as loud as he could, to one of them, "Tom Smith!" Tom Smith answered immediately, "Who's that? Robinson?" The other answered, "Ay, ay; for God's sake, Smith, throw down your arms and yield, or you are all dead men this moment."

"Who must we yield to? Where are they?" says Smith again. "Here they are," says he: "here is our captain and fifty men with him, have been hunting you this two hours: the boatswain is killed, Will Frye is wounded, I am a prisoner and if you do not yield, you are all lost."

"Will they give us quarter, then?" said Tom Smith, "and we will yield." "I'll go and ask, if you promise to yield," says Robinson. So he asked the captain, and the captain himself then called out, "You, Smith, you know my voice; if you lay down your arms immediately, and submit, you shall have your lives, all but Will Atkins."

Upon this Will Atkins cried out, "For God's sake, captain, give me quarter; what have I done? they have been all as bad as me" (which, by the way, was not true; for this Will Atkins had been the first man to lay hold of the captain when they mutinied): however, the captain told him he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the mercy of the governor, for such they all called me.

Upon this they all laid down their arms, and begged their

lives. I then sent the man that had parleyed with them and two more, who bound them all; after which my great army of fifty men, which, with those three, were in all but eight, came up and seized upon them and upon their boat, only that I kept myself and one more out of sight, for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and to think of seizing the ship; as for the captain, now that he had leisure to parley with them, he expostulated with them upon the villany of their practices, and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives. As for that, he told them they were no prisoners of his, but of the commander of the island; that they thought they had set him on shore in a barren uninhabited island; but it had pleased God so to direct them, that the island was inhabited, and that the governor was an Englishman; that he might hang them all there, if he pleased; but as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them to England, to be dealt with there as justice required, except Atkins, whom he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death; for that he would be hanged next morning.

Though this was all an invention of his own, yet it had the desired effect: Atkins fell upon his knees to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life, and all the rest begged of him, for God's sake, that they might not be sent to England.

It now occurred to me, that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be an easy thing to bring these fellows to assist in getting possession of the ship; so I retired in the dark from them, that they might not see what kind of a governor they had, and called the captain to me. When I called, as if at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain, "Captain, the commander calls for you:" on which the captain replied, "Tell his excellency I am just coming." This deceived them still more, and they all believed that the commander was close by, with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked wonderfully well, and resolved to put in execution. But, in order to effect it with

more certainty of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take Atkins, and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others were: this affair was committed to Friday, and the two men who came on shore with the captain.

Accordingly they conveyed them to the cave, as to a prison; and indeed it was a dismal enough place, especially to men in their condition. The others I ordered to my bower; and as it was fenced in, and they pinioned, the place was sufficiently secure.

To these I sent the captain in the morning, in order to try them, and tell me, whether he thought they might be trusted to go on board, and surprise the ship. On coming to them he talked to them of the injury done him, of the condition they were brought to, and that, though the governor had given them quarter for the present, yet that, if they were sent to England, they would all be hanged in chains; still he had reason to believe, if they would join in so just an attempt to recover the ship, he would intercede with the governor for their pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition: they fell down on their knees to the captain, and solemnly promised, that they would be faithful to him to the last; that they should owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world; that they would own him for a father to them as long as they lived."

"Well, then," said the captain, "I will go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it." So he brought me an account of the temper he found them in, and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

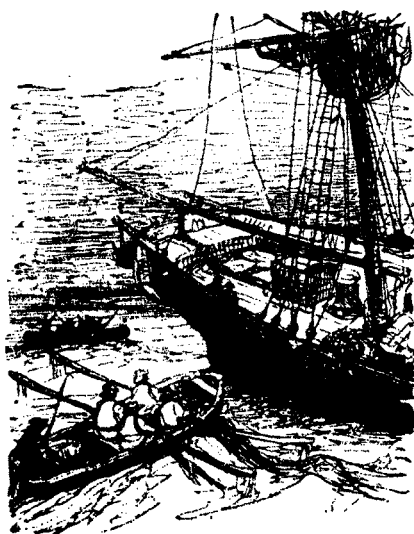
However, that we might be the more secure, I told him he should go back again, and choose out those five, and tell them that he would take them with him to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the cave, as hostages for the fidelity of those five; and that if they proved unfaithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive upon the shore.

This looked severe, and convinced them that the governor was in earnest. However, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the interest of the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to do their duty

Our strength was now thus arranged for the expedition:—  
1. The captain, his mate, and passenger. 2. The two prisoners of the first gang, to whom I had given liberty, and trusted with arms. 3. The other two, whom I had kept till now in my bower pinioned, but, upon the captain's suggestion, had now released. 4. These five released at last; so that they were twelve in all, five being kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

I asked the captain if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship: for, as for me and my man Friday, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, as we had seven men left behind, and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder, and supply them with victuals.

When I shewed myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain, who told them, I was the person the governor had ordered to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleasure that they should not stir any where but by my direction, for if they did, they should be fetched into the castle, and be laid in irons; so that, as we never suffered them to see me as governor, so I now appeared as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle, and the like, upon all occasions.



found them, and the like; holding them in a chat, till they

The captain now had no difficulty, but to furnish his two boats, stop the hole in the one, and man them. He made his passenger captain of one, with four other men; himself, and his mate, and five more, went in the other; and they managed very well, for they came up to the ship about midnight. As soon as they came within call of the ship, the captain made Robinson hail them, and tell them they had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they had

came to the ship's side, when the captain and the mate, entering first with their arms, immediately knocked down the second mate and carpenter with the butt-end of their muskets. Being faithfully seconded by their men, they secured all the rest that were upon the main and quarter-decks, and began to fasten the hatches to keep those down that were below, when the other boat's crew, entering at the fore-chains, secured the fore-castle of the ship, and the skuttle which went down into the cook-room, making the three men they found there prisoners.

When this was done, and all safe upon deck, the captain ordered the mate with three men to break into the round-house, where the new rebel captain lay. This last having taken the alarm, got up, and, with two men and a boy, seized some fire-arms; and when the mate with a crow-bar split open the door, the new captain and his men fired among them, and wounded the mate and two more of the men, but killed nobody. The mate, calling for help, rushed into the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually, without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon with me, to give me notice of his success; which I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two in the morning. I then laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very soundly, till I was surprised by the noise of a gun, and starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of "governor, governor." Presently I knew the captain's voice, who pointing to the ship, embraced me in his arms. "My dear friend and deliverer," said he, "there is your ship, for she is all yours, and so are we, and all that belong to her." I cast my eyes on the ship, and there she rode within little more than half a mile of the shore—for they had weighed her anchor as soon as they were masters of her, and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of the little creek.

I was, at first, ready to sink down with the surprise; for I saw my deliverance indeed visibly put into my hands, and a large ship ready to carry me whither I pleased. At first, I was not able to answer him one word; but as he had taken

me in his arms, I held fast by him, or I should have fallen to the ground. Indeed the poor man was in as great an ecstasy as myself, only not under any surprise, as I was; and he said a thousand kind tender things to me, to compose me and bring me to myself, but such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion; at last it broke out into tears, and in a little while after I recovered my speech. Then I took my turn, and embraced him as my deliverer, and we rejoiced together.

I forgot not, moreover, to lift up my heart in thankfulness to Heaven; indeed what heart could forbear to bless Him, who had not only in a miraculous manner provided for one in such a wilderness, and in such a desolate condition, but from whom every deliverance must always be acknowledged to proceed!

When we had talked awhile, we began to consult what was to be done with our prisoners; whether we might venture to take them away with us or not, especially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory; and if we did carry them away, whether it must not be in irons, as malefactors, to be delivered over to justice at the first English colony we came to; at last I proposed to contrive so that the two men he spoke of should make it their own request that he should leave them upon the island. "I should be very glad of that," said the captain, "with all my heart."

"Well," said I, "I will send for them up, and talk with them for you." So I caused Friday and the two hostages (for they were now discharged, their comrades having performed their promise) to go to the cave, and bring up the five men, pinioned as they were, to the bower, and keep them there till I came.

After some time, I came thither dressed in my new habit, and now I was called governor again. Being all met, and the captain with me, I caused the men to be brought before me, when I told them, I had had a full account of their villainous behaviour to the captain, and how they had run away with the ship, and were preparing to commit farther robberies; but that Providence had ensnared them in their own ways, and that they were fallen into the pit which they had digged for others. Moreover I wished to know what they had to say why I should not execute them as pirates taken

in the fact, as by my commission they could not doubt I had authority to do.

One of them answered in the name of the rest, that they had nothing to say but this, that when they were taken, the captain promised them their lives, and they humbly implored my mercy. I replied that I knew not what mercy to shew them; for, as for myself, I had resolved to quit the island with all my men, and had taken passage with the captain to go to England: and as for the captain, he could not carry them to England other than as prisoners, in irons, to be tried for mutiny, and running away with the ship; the consequence of which, they must needs know, would be the gallows: so that I could not tell what was best for them, unless they had a mind to take their fate in the island. For I had some inclination to give them their lives, if they thought they could shift on shore. They seemed very thankful for it, and said they would much rather stay here than be carried to England to be hanged: so I left it on that issue.

However, the captain seemed to make some difficulty about it, as if he durst not leave them there: upon this I seemed to be a little angry with the captain, and told him, that they were my prisoners; and that, seeing I had offered them so much favour, I would be as good as my word; and that if he did not think fit to consent to it, I would set them at liberty as I found them, and if he did not like that, he might take them again, if he could catch them.

Upon this they appeared very thankful, and I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods, to the place whence they came, saying that I would leave them some fire-arms, and ammunition, and some directions how they might live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this I prepared to go on board the ship, but told the captain, that I would stay that night to prepare my things; and desired him to go on board in the mean time, and keep all right in the ship, and send the boat on shore the next day for me; ordering him, in the meantime, to cause the new captain, who was killed, to be hanged at the yard-arm, that these men might see him.

When the captain was gone, I sent for the men up to me to my apartment, and entered seriously into discourse with them on their circumstances. I told them, I thought they had made a right choice, for that if the captain carried them



away, they would certainly be hanged. I shewed them the new captain hanging at the yard-arm of the ship, and told them they had nothing less to expect.

When they had all declared their willingness to stay, I then told them I would put them into the way of making it easy for themselves. Accordingly, I gave them the whole description of the place; shewed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes; and, in a word, all that was necessary to make them comfortable. I told them also of the sixteen Spaniards that were to be expected, for whom I had left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves.

I gave them my fire-arms; viz. five muskets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords; also a barrel and a half of gun-powder which I had left; for after the first year or two I used but little, and wasted none. I described the way I managed the goats, with directions to milk and fatten them, and how to make both butter and cheese; I likewise told them, I would prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gun-powder more, and some garden-seeds; also I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day, and went on board the ship. We prepared immediately to sail, but did not weigh that night. The next morning early, two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship, for GOD's sake, for they should be murdered. Upon this the captain pretended to have no power without me; but after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they were taken on board, and were soon after soundly whipped; after which they proved very honest and quiet fellows.

Some time after this, the boat was ordered on shore, the tide being up, with the things promised to the men, to which the captain, at my intercession, caused their chests and clothes to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for.

When I took leave of the island, I carried on board for relics the great goat's-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and my parrot; also I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me so long useless, that it was

grown rusty, or tarnished, and could hardly pass for silver till it had been rubbed and handled, as also the money I found in the wreck of the Spanish ship.

Thus, then, I left the island the 19th of December, as I found by the ship's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight-and-twenty years, two months, and nineteen days; being delivered from this second captivity the same day of the month that I first made my escape from the Moors of Saltee.

In this vessel, after a long voyage, I arrived in England the 11th of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty-and-five years absent.

When I came to England, I was as perfect a stranger to all the world as if I had never been known there: my benefactor and faithful steward, whom I had left in trust with my money, was alive, but had had great misfortunes; was become a widow the second time, and very much reduced in her circumstances. I made her easy as to what she owed me, assuring her I would give her no trouble, but, on the contrary, in gratitude to her former care and faithfulness to me, I relieved her as far as my little stock would afford.

I went down afterwards into Yorkshire; but my father and mother were dead; and as I had been long ago given over for lost, there had been no provision made for me; so that, in a word, I found none to relieve or assist me, and the little money I had would not do much for me as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude, indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship, whom I had so happily delivered, and by the same means saved the ship and cargo, having given a very handsome account to the owners of the manner in which I had saved the lives of the men, and the ship, they invited me to meet them and some other merchants concerned, and all together made me a very high compliment upon the subject, and a present of two hundred pounds sterling.

After reflecting, however, upon the circumstances of my life, and how little way this would go towards settling me in the world, I resolved to go to Lisbon, and see if I could not learn something of the state of my plantation in the Brazils, and of what was become of my partner, who, I supposed, had now given me over for dead.

With this view I took ship for Lisbon, where I arrived in April following; my man Friday accompanying me in all these ramblings, and proving a most faithful servant upon all occasions. When I arrived, I found out, by inquiry, my old friend, the captain of the ship who first took me up at sea, off the shore of Africa: he was now grown old, and had left off the sea, having put his son into his ship, who still continued the Brazil trade. The old man did not know me, and, indeed, I hardly knew him; but I soon brought him to my remembrance, and as soon brought myself to his remembrance, when I told him who I was.

After some passionate expressions of the old acquaintance between us, I inquired after my plantation and my partner. The old man told me, he had not been to the Brazils for about nine years; but he could assure me, that when he came away my partner was living; that he believed I would have a very good account of the plantation; for that, upon the general belief of my being drowned, my trustees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation to the procurator-fiscal, who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it, one-third to the king, and two-thirds to the monastery of St. Augustine, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith; but that, if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it should be restored, only that the improvement, or annual production, being distributed to charitable uses, could not be restored.

He added, that he could not tell exactly to what degree the plantation was improved; but this he knew, that my partner was grown exceedingly rich upon but one-half of it; and that, to the best of his remembrance, he had heard that the king's third, of my part, which was, it seems, granted away to some other monastery or religious house, amounted to above two hundred moidores a-year: that as to my being restored to a quiet possession of it, there was no question of that, my partner being alive to witness my title, and my name being also enrolled in the registry of the country. Also he told me, that the survivors of my two trustees were honest people, and very wealthy, and he believed I would not only have their assistance in putting me in possession, but would find a very considerable sum of money in their hands on my account, being the produce of the farm while their fathers

held the trust, and before it was given up as above, which, as he remembered, was for about twelve years.

"But," said the old man, "I have one piece of news to tell you, which perhaps may not be so acceptable to you as the rest; and that is, that believing you were lost, and all the world believing so also, your partner and trustees did offer to account to me in your name, for six or eight of the first years of profits, which I received; but there being at that time," says he, "great disbursements, for increasing the works, building an ingenio, and buying slaves, it did not amount to near so much as afterwards it produced; however," added he, "I shall give you a true account of what I have received in all, and how much I am in your debt."

When this was over, the old man asked me if he should put me in a way to make my claim to my plantation. I told him I thought of going over to it myself. He said I might do so if I pleased; but that if I did not, there were modes enough to secure my right, and to appropriate the profits to my use. And as there were ships in the river just ready to go away to Brazil, he made me enter my name in a public register, with his affidavit, affirming upon oath that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for the planting the said plantation at first.

Never any thing was more honourable than the proceedings which followed; for in less than seven months I received a large packet from the survivors of my trustees (for they were both dead), in which were the following particulars enclosed:

First, there was the account current of the produce of my farm, or plantation, from the year when their fathers had balanced with my old Portugal captain, being for six years: the balance appeared to be 1174 moidores in my favour. Secondly, there was the account of four years more while they kept the effects in their hands, before the government claimed the administration as being the effects of a person not to be found, which they called "civil death;" and the balance of this, the value of the plantation increasing, amounted to about 3241 moidores. Thirdly, there was the prior of the Augustine's account, who had received the profits for above fourteen years; but not being to account for what was disposed to the hospital, very honestly declared he had 872 moidores not distributed, which he acknowledged to my account.

Then there was a letter of my partner's, congratulating me on my being alive ; giving me an account what my estate produced a year, and inviting me to come over and take possession of my own. By the same fleet my two merchant-trustees shipped me 1200 chests of sugar, 800 rolls of tobacco, and the rest of the whole account in gold.

I was now master, all on a sudden, of above 5000*l.* sterling in money, and had an estate in the Brazils of above a thousand pounds a year, as sure as an estate of lands in England ; and in short, I was in a condition which I scarcely knew how to understand, or how to compose myself for the enjoyment of it.

The first thing I did was to recompense my original benefactor, my good old captain, who had been first charitable to me in my distress, kind to me in my beginning, and honest to me at the end. I shewed him all that was sent me ; I told him that, next to the providence of Heaven, which disposes all things, it was owing to him ; and that it now lay on me to reward him, which I would do a hundred-fold. So I first gave him a general discharge for the money which he had acknowledged he owed me ; after which I empowered him to be my receiver of the annual profits of my plantation, and appointed my partner to account to him, and make the returns to him in my name, granting him moreover one hundred moidores during his life, and fifty moidores a year to his son after him.

I was now to consider which way to steer my course next, and what to do with the estate that Providence had thus put into my hands. My interest in the Brazils seemed to summon me thither ; but as I could not think of going there until I had settled my affairs, and left my effects in some safe hands behind me, I had no way but to go back to England myself, and take my effects with me. Of this journey, and a variety of other adventures which happened to me, I shall by-and-by give the reader an account.

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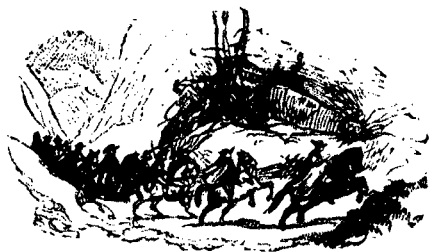
THE  
**Adventures**  
OF  
ROBINSON CRUSOE.

PART SECOND.



# ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

## CHAPTER VII.



HAVING thus settled my affairs, sold my cargo, and turned all my effects into good bills of exchange, the next difficulty was which way to go to England. I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had

a strange dislike to go by it at that time; and though I could give no reason for it, yet the aversion increased upon me so much, that I resolved to proceed by land, which, as I was not in haste and did not mind the expense, was by much the pleasanter way, and to make it more so, my old captain brought an English gentleman, the son of a merchant in Lisbon, who was willing to travel with me. After this we picked up two more English merchants also, and two young Portuguese gentlemen, the last going to Paris only; so that we were in all six of us and five servants, the two merchants and the two Portuguese contenting themselves with one servant between two to save the charge; and as for me, I



got an English sailor to travel with me as a servant besides my man Friday.

In this manner I set out from Lisbon; and our company being all well mounted and armed, we made a little troop, of which they did me the honour to call me captain, as well because I was the oldest man, as because I had two servants, and indeed was the originator of the whole journey.

When we came to Madrid we, being all of us strangers to Spain, were desirous of staying some time to see the court of that country, and what was worth observing; but it being the latter part of the summer, we hastened away, and set out from Madrid about the middle of October. But when we came to the edge of Navarre, we were alarmed at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow had fallen on the French side of the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to Pampeluna, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

When we came to Pampeluna itself, we found it so indeed; and to me that had been always used to a hot climate, and indeed to countries where we could scarcely bear any clothes on, the cold was insufferable; nor, indeed, was it more painful than it was surprising, to come but ten days before out of the Old Castile, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot, and immediately to feel a wind from the Pyrenean mountains, so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger the benumbing and perishing of our fingers and toes.

Poor Friday was really frightened when he saw the mountains all covered with snow, and felt cold weather, which he had never seen or felt before in his life. To mend the matter, after we came to Pampeluna, it continued snowing with so much violence, that the people said winter had come before its time, and the roads, which were difficult before, were now quite impassable. We stayed no less than twenty days at Pampeluna; when (seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter all over Europe that had been known in the memory of man) I proposed that we should all go away to Fontarabia, and there take shipping for Bordeaux, which was a very short voyage.

But while we were considering this, there came in four French gentlemen, who, having been stopped on the French

side of the passes, (for we were on the Spanish,) had found a guide, who, traversing the country near the head of Languedoc, had brought them over the mountains by such ways that they were not much incommoded with the snow: and where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

We sent for this guide, who told us he would undertake to conduct us the same way with no hazard from the snow, provided we were armed sufficiently to protect ourselves from wild beasts; for, he said, upon these great snows, it was common for some wolves to shew themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food. We told him we were well enough prepared for such creatures as they were, if he would insure us from a kind of two-legged wolves, which we were told we were in most danger from among those mountains.

He satisfied us there was no danger of robbers in the way we were to go: so we readily agreed to follow him, as did also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some French, some Spanish, who, as I said, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly we all set out from Pampeluna, with our guide, on the fifteenth of November. Having passed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate, where the country was pleasant, and no snow to be seen; but on a sudden, turning to the left, we approached the mountains; and though it is true the hills and the precipices looked dreadful, yet our guide led us by such winding ways, that we insensibly passed the height of the mountains without being much encumbered with the snow; and all on a sudden he shewed us the pleasant fruitful provinces of Languedoc and Gascony, all green and flourishing, though indeed they were at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass yet.

We were a little uneasy, however, when we found it snowed one whole day and a night so fast that we could not travel; but he bid us be easy, and we should soon be past it all. We found, indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to get more north than before; and so, depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when our guide being a little before us, and rather out of sight, out rushed three

monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, from a thick wood: two of the wolves flew upon the guide, and had he been half a mile before us, he would certainly have been devoured before we could have helped him, for one of them fastened upon his horse, and the other attacked himself with that violence that he had not time to draw his pistol. On hearing him halloo and cry to us, I bade Friday, who was next to me, ride up and see what was the matter. As soon as he came in sight of the guide, he hallooed as loud as the other;—"O master! O master!" But, like a bold fellow, he rode directly up to the poor man, and, with his pistol, shot the wolf that had fastened upon him through the head.

It was happy for the poor man that it was my man Friday, for he, having been used to that kind of creature in his country, had no fear but went close up to the wolf and shot him; whereas any of us would have fired at a farther distance, and have perhaps either missed the wolf or endangered shooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than me, and indeed it alarmed all our company, when, at the noise of Friday's pistol, we heard on both sides a dismal howling of wolves, and the noise being redoubled by the echo of the mountains, it seemed to us as if there were a prodigious multitude of them; and indeed there were probably quite enough to give us cause of apprehension.

It may be supposed that at the noise of Friday's pistol we all mended our pace, and rode up as fast as the road (which was very difficult) would allow us, to see what was the matter. By the time we reached them, Friday was helping the guide off his horse, for the man was both hurt and frightened, and, indeed, the last more than the first; when, on a sudden, we spied a bear come out of the wood, and a monstrous one it was, the biggest by far that I ever saw. We were all a little surprised when we saw him; but when Friday saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance: "O! O! O!" says Friday three times, pointing to him, "O master! you give me te leave, me shakee te hand with him; me make you good laugh."

I was surprised to see the fellow so pleased. "You fool," said I, "he will eat you up." "Eatee me up! eatee me up!" said Friday twice over again; "me eatee him up; me make you good laugh; you all stay here, me shew you good

laugh." So down he sat, got his boots off in a moment, and putting on a pair of shoes which he had in his pocket, gave my other servant his horse, and, with his gun, away he flew, as swift as the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till Friday coming pretty near, called to him, as if the bear could understand him: "Hark ye, hark ye, me speakee wit you." We followed at a distance; for now being come down on the Gascony side of the mountains, we had entered a vast forest, where the country was plain and pretty open, though with many trees scattered here and there.

Friday, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and took up a great stone and threw at him, and it hit him just on the head, but did him no more harm than if he had thrown it against a wall: it answered Friday's end, however, for the rogue was so void of fear, that he did it merely to make the bear follow him, and shew us some laugh, as he called it.

As soon as the bear felt the stone, and saw him, he turned about, and came after him, taking tremendously long strides, and shuffling along at a rate which would almost put a horse to the gallop. Away ran Friday, and took his course as if he ran towards us for help, so we all resolved to fire at once upon the bear, and I called out to him to keep out of the way. But when he heard me, he cried out, "No shoot, no shoot; stand still, you get much laugh;" and as the nimble creature ran two feet for the beast's one, he turned on a sudden on one side of us, and seeing a great oak-tree fit for his purpose, he beckoned to us to follow, and doubling his pace he got quickly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground at about five or six yards off.

The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance. The first thing he did was to stop at the gun, and smell it, but he let it lie, and up he scrambled into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrously heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see any thing to laugh at yet; at last, seeing the bear get up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was Friday at the small end of a large branch, and the bear about half way towards him; and as soon as the bear got to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker; "Ha," says he to us, "now

you see me teachee the bear dance." So he fell a jumping, and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back. Then, indeed, we did laugh heartily. But Friday had not yet half done with him: when he saw him stand still, he called out to him again, as if he supposed the bear could speak English, "What, you come no further? Pray you come further?" So he left jumping and shaking the tree; and the bear, just as if he understood what he said, did come a little further, on which he fell to jumping again, and the bear stopped once more.

We thought that now was a good time to knock him on the head, and I called Friday to stand still, and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly, "Oh, pray! oh, pray! no shoot, me shoot by and then,"—(he would have said "by and by.") Friday now danced so much, and the bear stood in so ticklish a position, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do. We thought at first he would try to shake the bear off, but we found the bear was too cunning for that, for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clung fast with his great broad claws and feet; so that we could not imagine where the jest would end.

But Friday put us out of doubt quickly, for seeing the bear cling fast to the bough, and that he could not be persuaded to come any further; "Well, well," says he, "you no come further, me go, me go; you no come to me, me go come to you." And upon this he went out to the smallest end of the bough, where it would bend with his weight, and gently let himself down by it, sliding down the bough till he came near enough to jump down on his feet; and away he ran to his gun, took it up, and stood still.

"Well, Friday," said I to him, "what will you do now? Why don't you shoot him?" "No shoot," says Friday, "no yet; me shoot now, me no kill; me stay, give you one more laugh;" and indeed so he did; for when the bear saw his enemy gone, he came back from the bough where he stood, but did it mighty leisurely, looking behind him every step, and coming backward till he got into the body of the tree; then with the same hinder end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time very leisurely. Just at this juncture, and before he

could set his hind feet upon the ground, Friday stepped close to him, put the muzzle of his piece to his ear, and shot him as dead as a stone.

Then the fellow turned about, to see if we did not laugh; and when he saw we were pleased by our looks, he fell a laughing too very loud. "So we kill bear in my country," said he. "So you kill them," said I; "why you have no guns." "No," said he, "no gun, but shoot much long arrow."

This was, indeed, a good diversion to us; but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew; the howling of wolves ran much in my head; and, indeed, except the noise I once heard on the shores of Africa, I never heard any thing that filled me with so much horror.

Apprehension of danger, and the approach of night, called us away; or else, as Friday would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving; but as we had three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us, we left him, and went forward on our journey.

We had one dangerous place to pass, in which (our guide told us), if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them; and this was in a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long narrow defile or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sunset when we entered the first wood, and a little after sunset when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that in a little plain within the wood we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed one after another, as if they had been in chase of some prey, and had it in view; they took no notice of us, and were gone and out of our sight in a few moments. Upon this our guide, who, by the way, was a wretched faint-hearted fellow, bid us keep in a ready posture, for he believed there were more wolves coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us, but we saw no more wolves till we had passed through that wood, which was near half a league long, and had entered the plain; but as soon as we came into the plain, we had cause enough to look about us. The first object we met with was

a poor horse which the wolves had killed, and at least a dozen of them still at work picking his bones. Friday would have let fly at them, but as they were too busy to take notice of us I would not suffer him by any means, for I found we were likely to have more business upon our hands than we were aware of. We had not gone half over the plain, when we began to hear the wolves howl in the wood on our left, in a frightful manner, and presently after we saw no fewer than a hundred coming on directly towards us, all in a body, and most of them in a line, as regularly as an army drawn up by experienced officers. I scarcely knew in what manner to receive them; we found, however, that to draw ourselves in a close line was the only way; so we formed in a moment; but, that we might not have too much interval, I ordered, that only every other man should fire, and that the others, who had not fired, should stand ready to give them a second volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us; and that then those who had fired at first should not attempt to load their fuses again, but stand ready, with every one a pistol,—for we were all armed with a fusee and a pair of pistols each man. By this method we were able to fire six volleys, half of us at a time: however, at present, we had no necessity, for, upon firing the first volley, the enemy made a full stop, being terrified, as well with the noise as with the fire; four of them being shot in the head, dropped, and several others being wounded, went bleeding off, as we could see by the snow. Upon this, remembering that I had been told that the fiercest creatures were terrified at the voice of a man, I caused all our company to halloo as loud as we could; and I found the notion not altogether mistaken, for upon our shout, they began to retire, and turn about; after which I ordered a second volley to be fired in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again, and that we might lose no time, we kept going; but we had but little more than loaded our fuses, and put ourselves into readiness, when we heard a terrible noise in the same wood, on our left, only that it was farther onward the same way we were to go.

The night was coming on, which made it the worse for us; and the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the yelling of those savage creatures; when on a sudden, we

perceived two or three troops of wolves on our left, one behind us, and one on our front, so that we seemed to be surrounded with them; however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which, the way being very rough, was only a good sharp trot. In this manner we came in view of the entrance of a wood through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain; but we were greatly surprised, when, coming near the lane, we saw a number of wolves standing just at the entrance.

On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun, and, looking that way, out rushed a horse, with a saddle and bridle, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him full speed; the horse indeed had the heels of them; but as he could not hold on long at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at last; and no question ~~but~~ they did.

But here we had a most horrible sight; for, riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcasses of another horse and of two men devoured by the ravenous creatures. One of the poor men was no doubt the same who fired the gun we had heard, for there lay an unloaded gun close by him; but as to the man, his head, and the upper part of his body, were already eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take; but the creatures soon determined us, for they gathered about us speedily, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood were some large timber-trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there ready to be carried away. I drew my little troop in among those trees, and placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, I advised them all to alight, and keeping that tree before us for a breast-work, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts, enclosing our horses in the centre.

It was well we did; for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place. They came on us with a growling kind of noise, and mounted the piece of timber as if they were only rushing upon their prey; and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasioned by their seeing our horses behind us, which was the prey they



aimed at. I ordered our men to fire, as before, every other man; which they did, taking their aim so sure, that they killed several of the wolves at the first volley; but it was necessary to keep up a continual firing, for they came on like demons, those behind pushing on those before.

When we had fired our second volley, we thought they stopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off, but it was but a moment, for others came forward again; so we fired two volleys of our pistols, and though I believe in these four firings we had killed seventeen or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many, yet they came on us again.

I was loath to spend our last shot too hastily, so I called my servant—not my man Friday, who was better employed—for, with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he had charged my fusee and his own while we were engaged—but my other man; and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train. He did so, and had but just time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, and some were already got up on it; upon which I, snapping an uncharged pistol close to the powder, immediately set it on fire. Those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell, or rather jumped in amongst us, with the force and fright of the fire; these we despatched in an instant, and the rest were so frightened with the light, which the night made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon this I ordered our last pistols to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout; upon this the wolves turned tail, and we sallied immediately upon near twenty lame ones, that we found struggling on the ground, and fell to cutting them with our swords, which answered our expectation; for the crying and howling they made were better understood by their fellows; so that in the end they all fled and left us.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his limbs were so swelled with the rankling of his wounds, that he could proceed no farther; so we were obliged to take a new guide there, and go to Toulouse, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful, pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, or any thing like them. But when we told our story at Toulouse, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest at the foot of the mountains, especially when the

snow lay on the ground; they then inquired what kind of a guide we had had, that would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season, and told us, it was a great chance we had not all been devoured. When we told them how we placed ourselves, and the horses in the middle, they blamed us exceedingly, and said it was a wonder we had not been destroyed; for it was the sight of the horses which made the wolves so furious, seeing their prey; that at other times they are really afraid of a gun, but being excessively hungry, the eagerness to get at the horses had made them senseless of danger, and that if we had not by the continued fire, and at last by the stratagem of the train of powder, mastered them, it is ten to one but we had been torn to pieces. On the other hand, had we been content to have sat still on horseback, and fired as horsemen, they would not have taken the horses so much for their own, when men were on their backs, as otherwise; and they told us moreover, that at last, if we had stood altogether, and left our horses, they would have been so eager to have devoured them, that we might have come off safe and sound, especially having our fire-arms in our hands, and being so many in number.

For my part, I was never so sensible of danger in my life; for, seeing above 300 wolves come roaring and open-mouthed to devour us, and having nothing to shelter us, or retreat to, I gave myself over for lost. As it was, I believe, I shall never care to cross those mountains again: I think I would much rather go a thousand leagues by sea, though I were sure to meet with a storm once a week.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of in my passage through France; nothing but what other travellers have given an account of, much better than I can. I travelled from Toulouse to Paris, and without any considerable stay, came to Calais, and landed safe at Dover on the 14th of January.

I soon settled myself, and in a little time I had all my newly discovered estate safe about me, the bills of exchange, which I brought with me, having been very punctually paid. My principal guide and counsellor was my good old widow, who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me; and I trusted her so entirely with every thing, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects; and indeed I was very

happy from beginning to end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

I wrote to my old friend at Lisbon, to see if he could dispose of my property in the Brazils; who, in return, gave me notice that he could easily dispose of it there, but that if I thought fit to give him leave to offer it to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees, who lived in the Brazils, he believed they would be glad to buy it, nor did he doubt but I should make 4 or 5000 pieces of eight the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, and gave him an authority to offer it to them, which he did; and in about eight months more, when the ship returned, he sent me word that they had accepted the offer, and had remitted 33,000 pieces of eight to a correspondent of theirs at Lisbon, in payment.

In return, I signed the instrument of sale in the form which they sent from Lisbon, and forwarded it to my old man, who sent me bills of exchange for 32,800 pieces of eight for the estate: reserving the payment of 100 moidores a-year to him during his life, and 50 moidores afterwards to his son for his life, which I had promised them; this the plantation was to make good as a rent-charge.

And thus I have given an account so far of a life of fortune and adventure, a life of Providence's chequer-work, and of a variety which the world will seldom be able to shew the like of: beginning foolishly, but closing much more happily than I had any reason to hope for.

Any one would think that, in this state of good fortune, I was past the temptation to run any more hazards; and so indeed I should have been, if other circumstances had concurred; but I was accustomed to a wandering life, had no family, not many relations, nor, though rich, had I contracted much acquaintance; and though I had sold my estate in the Brazils, yet I could not keep the country out of my head, and had a great mind to be on the wing again; especially I could not resist the strong inclination I had to see my island, and to know if the poor Spaniards were still there; and how the rogues I left there had used them.

My true friend the widow earnestly dissuaded me from it, and so far prevailed with me, that almost for seven years she prevented my going off, during which time I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care. The eldest having something of his own, I bred up as a

gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate, after my decease : the other I put out to a captain of a ship, and after five years, finding him a sensible, bold, enterprising young fellow, I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea : and this young fellow, as will be seen, afterwards drew me in, old as I was, to farther adventures myself.

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## CHAPTER VIII.



THE homely proverb, "*What is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh,*" was never more verified than in the story of my life. Any one would think that after thirty-five years' adventures, such as few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fullness of all things ; I say, after all this, any one would have thought that my native propensity to rambling would have been worn out, and I might at sixty-one years of age have been a little inclined

to stay at home, and end my days in peace. Yet all would not do : I could not resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again ; especially the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, ran in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination dwelt upon it all day ; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so strongly upon it, that I

talked of it in my sleep : in short, nothing could remove it out of my mind ; it even broke out so much into all my discourses that it made my conversation tiresome, for I could talk of nothing else.

I was in this kind of temper when, in the beginning of the year 1693, my nephew returned home from a short voyage to Bilboa, being the first he had made. He came to me, and told me, that some merchants of his acquaintance had been proposing to him to go a voyage for them to the East Indies and to China, as private traders : " And now, uncle," says he, " if you will go to sea with me, I will engage to land you at your old habitation in the island, for we are to touch at the Brazils."

My nephew knew not how far my distemper of wandering had returned upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thoughts to say, when that very morning before he came to me, I had, in a great deal of confusion of thought, and revolving every part of my circumstances in my mind, come to this resolution, namely, that I would go to Lisbon, and consult with my old sea-captain ; and so, if it was rational and practicable, I would go and see the island again, and see what was become of my people there. I had pleased myself with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession, and I know not what ; when in the middle of all this, in came my nephew, as I have just said, with his project of carrying me thither, on his way to the East Indies.

So the scheme suiting exactly with my temper, I told him, in a few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him ; but I told him, I would not promise to go any farther than my own island. " Why, sir," said he, " you don't want to be left there again, I hope ?" " Can you not take me up again on your return ?" said I. He told me it was not likely the merchants would allow him to come that way with a laden ship of such value, it being a month's sail out of his way, and might be three or four. " Besides, sir, if I should miscarry," said he, " and not return at all, then you would be reduced to just the same condition you were in before." This was very rational ; but we both found out a remedy for it, which was to carry with us a framed sloop, which, being taken in pieces and put on board the ship, might, by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to

carry with us, he set up again in the island, and finished, fit to go to sea, in a few days.

I was not long of resolving ; for, indeed, the importunities of my nephew joined in so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me ; and there was no one to persuade me one way or other, except my good old friend the widow, who earnestly besought me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the hazard of a long voyage ; but it was all to no purpose. I had an irresistible desire for the voyage, and so I told her ; after which she ceased her expostulations, and joined with me in making preparations for my departure.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of January, 1695, and I with my man Friday went on board in the Downs on the 8th, having, besides that sloop which I mentioned above, a large cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony.

First, I took with me some servants, whom I proposed to place there as inhabitants, or at least to set to work there on my own account while I stayed, and either to leave them there, or take them away again, as they should appear willing ; in particular I took two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic ; for he was dexterous at making wheels, and hand-mills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker ; he also made any thing that was proper to make of earth or of wood ; in a word, we called him our Jack of all trades. With these I took a tailor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the East Indies with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most handy fellow as could be desired in many other businesses besides that of this trade ; for, as I have before observed, necessity fits us for all employments.

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen and some thin English stuffs for clothing the Spaniards that I expected to find there, and enough by my calculation to supply them comfortably for seven years. The materials which I carried for clothing them, including gloves, hats, shoes, stockings, and all such things as they could want for wearing, with other things, as beds, bedding, and household stuff, pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c., amounted in value to above two hundred pounds, besides iron-work,

nails, tools of every kind, staples, looks, hinges, &c., to nearly one hundred pounds more.

I carried also a hundred spare arms, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, and two pieces of brass cannon; and because I knew not what extremities I might be providing for, I carried a hundred barrels of powder, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron parts of some pikes and halberts. Moreover, I made my nephew carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind if there was occasion; so that when we arrived we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies; and, indeed, I at first thought there would be need enough of it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our possession of the island.

We set sail on the 5th of February, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days. It was about the 20th of February, late in the evening, when the mate, being on watch, came into the round-house, and told us he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain had heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck to listen: for a while we heard nothing, but in a few minutes we saw a great light, and found that there was some terrible fire at a distance. Immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, in which we all agreed that there could be no land that way in which the fire shewed itself, nor for 500 leagues. Upon this we concluded it must be some ship on fire; and as by our hearing the noise of guns just before, we concluded it could not be far off, we steed directly towards it, and were presently satisfied we should discover it, because the farther we sailed the greater the light appeared, though the weather being hazy, we could not perceive any thing but the light for a while. In about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, and the weather clearing up, we could plainly discern that it was a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea.

We lay by some time waiting for daylight, only driving as the burning ship drove, when on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air, and in a few minutes all the fire was out, and the rest of the ship sunk. This was a terrible and afflicting sight for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded, must be

either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boat in the middle of the ocean, which at present, as it was quite dark, I could not see. However, to direct them as well as I was able, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanterns for; and we kept firing guns all the night long, letting them know by this that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning we discovered the ship's boats by the help of our glasses, and found there were two of them, both thronged with people and deep in the water; we perceived they rowed, the wind being against them, that they saw our ship, and were doing their utmost to make us see them.

Upon this we immediately hung out a flag as a signal for them to come on board; and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In little more than half an hour we came up with them, and took them all in, being no less than sixty-four men, women, and children, for there were a great many passengers.

We found it was a French merchant-ship of 300 tons, homeward-bound from Quebec. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship, how the fire began in the steerage by the negligence of the steersman, but, on his crying out for help, was, as every body thought, entirely put out, when they found that some sparks of the first fire had got into some part of the ship so difficult to come at that they could not effectually quench it, till getting in between the timbers and within the ceiling of the vessel, it penetrated into the hold, and mastered all the skill and all the labour they were able to exert.

It is impossible for me to express the ecstasies and variety of gestures which these poor delivered people run into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance. Grief and fear are easily described; sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of the head and hands, make up the sum of its variety; but an excess of joy, a surprise of joy, has a thousand extravagances in it. There were some weeping, some tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow; some stark raving and downright lunatic; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; some were dancing, some singing, some laughing; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word; others



swooning and ready to faint; others were crossing themselves, and giving GOD thanks.

Among the passengers was a young priest, who behaved with great self-command, and was really an example of a serious well-governed mind. At his first coming on board the ship, he threw himself flat on his face, prostrating himself in thankfulness for his deliverance, in which I unseasonably disturbed him, thinking he had been in a swoon; but he spoke calmly, thanked me, told me he was giving GOD thanks for his deliverance, begged me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Maker, he would give me thanks also.

I was heartily sorry that I disturbed him, and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him also. He continued in that posture about three minutes, or a little more, after I left him; then came to me, as he had said he would, and, with a great deal of seriousness and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me who, under GOD, had given him and so many miserable creatures their lives. After this he applied himself to his companions; laboured to compose them; persuaded, entreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason; and with some he had success, though others were, for a time, quite out of themselves.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness shewn them, was wanting: the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough that way. The captain, and one of the priests, came to me the next day, and desiring to speak with me and my nephew, the commander, began to consult with us what should be done with them; and first they told us, that, as we had saved their lives, so all they had was little enough for a return to us for that kindness received. The captain said, they had saved some money and some things of value in their boats, caught hastily up out of the flames; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way, where, if possible, they might get passage to France.

My nephew was for accepting their money at once, and to consider what to do with them afterwards; but I over-ruled him in that; for I knew too well what it was to be set on shore in a strange country.

I therefore told the French captain, that it was true we had taken them up in their distress, but that it was our duty to do so, as we were fellow-creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered, if we were in the like extremity; that we had done nothing for them, but what we believed they would have done for us if we had been in their case, and they in ours; that we took them up to save them, not to plunder them; and it would be a most barbarous thing to take that little from them which they had saved out of the fire, and then set them on shore and leave them, and therefore I would not let the least thing be taken from them. As to setting them on shore, I told them, indeed, that it was very difficult to us, for that the ship was bound to the East Indies; and though we were driven out of our course to the westward a very great way, and perhaps were directed by Heaven on purpose for their deliverance, yet it was impossible for us to change our voyage on this particular account; and all we could do for them was, to put ourselves in the way of meeting with other ships homeward bound from the West Indies, and so get them passage, if possible, to England or France.

The first part of the proposal was so generous and kind, that they could not but be thankful for it; but they were in very great consternation, especially the passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the East Indies; and they then entreated me, that, seeing I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same course to the banks of Newfoundland, where it was probable I might meet with some ship or sloop that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came. I thought this was but a reasonable request, and therefore I consented that we should carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit; and if not, to Martinico, in the West Indies.

It was about a week after this that we made the banks of Newfoundland, where we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at sea there, to put them on shore, and afterwards to carry them to France, if they could get provision to victual themselves with. The young priest, however, hearing we were bound to the East Indies, desired to go with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of Coromandel, which I readily agreed to; for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason, as will appear afterwards;

also four of the seamen entered themselves in our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

From this we directed our course for the West Indies, steering s. and s. by e. for about twenty days together, sometimes with little or no wind at all, when we met with another object for our humanity, almost as deplorable as the other.

It was in the latitude of twenty-seven degrees five minutes N. and the 19th day of March, 1694-5, when we spied a sail; our course being s.e. and by s. We soon perceived it was a large vessel, and that she bore up to us; but could not at first know what to make of her, till, coming a little nearer, we found she had lost her main-top-mast, fore-mast, and bowsprit: presently she fired a gun as a signal of distress; and the weather being pretty good, we soon came to speak with her.

We found she was a Bristol ship, bound from Barbadoes, which had been blown out of the road a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore; so that, besides the terror of the storm, they were but in a poor condition for bringing the ship home. They had been already nine weeks at sea, and had met with another terrible storm after the hurricane, which had blown them to the westward, quite out of their reckoning; they told us, they expected to have seen the Bahama Islands, but were then driven away again to the south-east by a strong gale of wind at N.N.W., the same that blew now, and having no sails to work the ship with, but a kind of square sail upon a jury fore-mast, which they had set up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to stand away for the Canaries. But that which was worst of all was, that they were almost starved for want of provisions. Their bread and flesh were quite gone, they had not an ounce left in the ship, and had tasted none for eleven days; the only relief they had was, that their water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had sugar, some succades, or sweetmeats, which were soon devoured, and seven casks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid-servant, on board, who were passengers, and, thinking the ship was ready to sail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began, and, having no provisions of their own left,

they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest; for the seamen being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers: they were indeed in a condition of misery very hard to describe.

We immediately applied ourselves to give them what relief we could spare. But now they were in a new peril; for there was danger of their eating too much even of that little we gave them. The mate, or commander, brought six men with him in his boat; these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, they could hardly sit at the oars. The mate himself was very ill, and half-starved; for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went share and share alike with them in every bit they ate.

I cautioned him to eat sparingly, but set meat before him immediately, and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be sick; so he stopt a while, and our surgeon mixed him up something with some broth, which he said would be to him both food and physic, and after he had taken it, he grew better. In the mean time I forgot not the men, but ordered victuals to be given them, which the poor creatures rather devoured than ate. They were so exceedingly hungry, that they were, I may say, ravenous, and had no command of themselves; two of them indeed ate with so much greediness, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

I next ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see what condition the poor passengers were in, and, if they were alive, to comfort them, and give them what refreshment was proper; the surgeon too gave him a large pitcher with some of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he thought would restore them gradually.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest. The mother, who, as the men reported, was a woman of good sense and good breeding, had spared all she could get so affectionately for her son, that at last she sunk under it. And when the mate of our ship went in, she sat upon the deck, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk in between her shoulders, like a corpse. My mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth; she opened her lips, and lifted up one hand,

but could not speak; yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating that it was too late for her, but pointed to her child, as if she would have said, they should take care of him. The poor woman died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed as one stretched out, with hardly any life left in him; however, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly to revive. The next care was the poor maid. She lay upon the deck by her mistress, just like one that had fallen down in a fit, and had struggled for life; her limbs were distorted, one of her hands was clasped round the frame of a chair, and griped it so hard that we could not easily make her let go; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin-table: in short, she lay just like one in the last agonies of death.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our surgeon, who was a man of great knowledge and experience, had, with great application, recovered her to life, he had her upon his hand as to her senses, for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after.

Our duty was to relieve this distressed ship's crew, but not to wait for them; and though they were willing to steer the same course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts; however, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up some, we did lie by him for three or four days, and then having given him five barrels of beef, two hogsheads of biscuit, with some peas, flour, and what other things we could spare, and taking three casks of sugar, some rum, and some pieces of eight of them for satisfaction, we left them, taking on board with us, at their own earnest request, the youth, and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about seventeen years of age, a pretty, well-bred, modest, and sensible youth; greatly dejected with the loss of his mother, for it appeared he had lost his father too but a few months before at Barbadoes. He begged of the surgeon to speak to me, to take him out of the ship, for he said, the cruel fellows had murdered his mother, and indeed so they had, that is to say, passively, for they might have

spared a small sustenance to the poor helpless widow that might have kept her alive. But alas! hunger knows no friend, no relation, no justice, no right.

I was now in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 32'$ , and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. I shall not trouble the reader with the incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c. on the rest of our voyage; but, shortening my story, shall observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April, 1695, and brought the ship safe to an anchor at the little creek where my old habitation was.

As soon as I saw the place, I called for Friday, and asked him if he knew where he was? He looked about a little, and presently clapping his hands, cried, "O yes, O there, O yes, O there!" pointing to our old habitation; then he fell a dancing and capering like a mad fellow, and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim on shore to the place.

"Well, Friday," said I, "do you think we shall find any body here, or not? and shall we see your father, do you think?" The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected, and I could see the tears run down his face very plentifully. "What is the matter, Friday?" said I, "are you troubled because you may see your father?" "No, no," said he, "shaking his head, "no see him more, no ever more see again." "Why so," said I, "Friday? how do you know that?" "O no, O no," said Friday, "he long ago die; long ago, he much old man." "Well, well," said I, "Friday, you don't know; but shall we see any one else then?" The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he pointed just to the hill above my old house; and though we were half a league off, he cried out, "We see! we see! yes, we see much man there, and there, and there." I looked, but I could see nobody, no, not with a perspective glass, which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found, upon inquiry the next day, that there were five or six men altogether looking at the ship, not knowing what to think of us.

As soon as Friday told me he saw people, I caused the English flag to be hoisted, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends, and about half a quarter of an hour

after, we perceived a smoke rise from the side of the creek; on which I immediately ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me, and, hanging out a white flag, or flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young priest I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole story of my living there, and every particular, both of myself, and those I had left; and who was on that account extremely desirous to go with me. We had besides about sixteen men well armed, in case we had found any one there which we did not know of. We had no need of weapons, however.

As we went on shore on the flood-tide, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek, and the first man I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard, whose life I had saved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself; but there was no keeping Friday in the boat, for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off from the Spaniard, where indeed I saw nothing of him, and if they had not let him go on shore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, than he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man shed tears to have seen the first transports of the poor fellow's joy, when he came up to his father; how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down by a tree, then stood and looked at him as any one would look at a strange picture; again he would lie down upon the ground, and stroke his legs and kiss them, and then get up again, and stare at him: one would have thought the fellow bewitched. But it would have made a dog laugh to see his behaviour the next day. In the morning he walked along the shore, to and fro with his father, several hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a child; and every now and then he would come to fetch something or other for him from the boat, either a lump of sugar or a dram, a biscuit-cake, or something or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolics ran another way; for then he would set the old man down upon the ground, and dance about him, and make a thousand antic postures and gestures; and all the while he did this, he would be talking to him, and telling him one story or another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In short, if the same filial affection was to be found in Christians to their parents, in our

parts of the world, one would be tempted to say, there would hardly have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But to return to my landing. It would be endless to notice all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The first Spaniard (whose life I had saved) came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also: he not only did not know me at first, but he had no notion of its being I that was come, till I spoke to him. "Signor," said I, "do you not know me?" At which he spoke not a word, but giving his musket to the man that was with him, he threw open his arms, and saying something in Spanish that I did not perfectly hear, came forward and embraced me, telling me, he was inexcusable not to know that face again that he had once seen as of an angel from heaven sent to save his life. And then beckoning to the person who attended him, he bade him go and call his comrades. He then asked me if I would walk to my old habitation. So I walked along with him; but I could no more find the place again than if I had never been there; for they had planted so many trees, and placed them so thick and close to one another, that, in ten-years time they had grown so big that the place was inaccessible, except by such windings as they themselves only who made them could find.

I asked them, what induced them to make all these fortifications. He told me, I would say there was need enough of it, when they had given me an account of how they had passed their time after I had left the island. He told me he could not but have some pleasure in my good fortune, when he heard that I had gone away in a good ship, and to my satisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a strong persuasion, that one time or other he should see me again; but nothing that ever befell him in his life was so afflicting to him at first, as when he came back to the island and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom he said he had a long story to tell me, the Spaniards all thought themselves much better among the savages, only that their number was so small. "And," said he, "had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory;"—and with that he crossed himself. "But, sir," he added, "I hope you will not be displeased, when I



tell you how we were obliged, for our own preservation, to disarm them, and make them our subjects, seeing that they would not be content with being moderately our masters, but were determined to be our murderers." I answered, "I was afraid of it when I left them there; and that nothing troubled me at my parting from the island so much as that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of every thing first, and left the others in a state of subjection, as they deserved; but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory villains, and fit for any manner of mischief."

While I was saying this, the man whom he had sent came back, and with him eleven more, when the Spaniard turning to me, and pointing to them, said, "These, sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you;" and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up one by one, not as if they had been sailors, and ordinary fellows, and I the like, but as if they had been ambassadors or noblemen, and I a monarch, or a great conqueror. Their behaviour was in the highest degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly, majestic gravity, which very well became them; and in short, they had so much more manners than I, that I scarcely knew how to receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

I must now give a relation in due order of all the events which took place from the period of my leaving the island, as I learnt it from the Spaniards.

And first I must remind the reader that I had sent away Friday's father and the Spaniard in a large canoe, to fetch over the Spaniard's companions, whom he had left behind him, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in.

When the Spaniard landed among his countrymen, they were, as may be supposed, overjoyed to see him again, and the more so, because he was the principal man among them, and because they knew that he had fallen into the hands of savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him, as they did all the rest of their prisoners. But when he told them the story of his deliverance, and how he had been enabled to come and carry them away, it was like a dream to them;

their astonishment was something like that of Joseph's brethren, when he told them who he was, and the story of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court: however, when he shewed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and the provisions that he brought them for their voyage, they were restored to themselves, took their share of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

By the time they returned to the island about three weeks had elapsed, and in that time, unluckily for them, the occasion offered for my escape from the island; and I had gone, leaving behind me three of the most impudent, hardened villains that any man could desire to meet with, to the poor Spaniard's great grief and disappointment, as the reader will presently learn.

The only just thing the rogues did, was, when the Spaniards came on shore, to deliver my letter to them, and to give them provisions, and other relief, as I had ordered; also they gave them the paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; nor did they refuse at first to accommodate the Spaniards with any thing else, for they agreed very well for some time. They gave them an equal admission into the house, or cave, and they began to live very sociably; and the head Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my method, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs: for, as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises, and when they came home at night, the Spaniards provided their suppers for them.

The Spaniards would have been satisfied with this, if the others would have but let them alone; this, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long, but, like the dog in the manger, they would neither eat themselves nor let others eat. The differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial, and hardly worth relating; but at last they broke out into open war, and began with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined, without reason or provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to common sense: and though it is true the first relation of it came from the Spaniards themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows themselves, they could not deny a word of it.

But here I must supply a defect in my former relation;

that, just as we were weighing anchor to set sail, there happened a quarrel on board our ship, which was not appeased until the captain, calling us all to his assistance, made two of the most refractory prisoners, and as they had been active in the former mutiny, he threatened to convey them to England in irons, and have them punished there.

This affair had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind also falling calm. Next morning we found that our two men who had been laid in irons had stolen each of them a musket and some other weapons, and taking the ship's pinnace, which was not yet hauled up, had got away with her to their companions in roguery on the shore.

These two additional men made their number five; but the other three villains were so much more wicked than these, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned the two new comers out of doors, and would have nothing to do with them, nor could they for a good while be persuaded to give them any food.

But it was afterwards, when the Spaniards came on shore, that the great disputes began. The Spaniards tried to persuade the three English brutes to take in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it, so the two poor fellows lived by themselves, and finding that nothing but industry and application would enable them to live comfortably, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, a little more to the west, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the eastern parts of the island.

Here they built two huts, one to lodge in, and the other in which to lay up their magazines and stores; and the Spaniards having given them some corn for seed, and some of the peas which I had left them, they dug and planted, and began to live pretty well. Their first crop of corn was on the ground, and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at first, yet it was enough to provide them with bread or other eatables; one of the fellows, too, being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and such other preparations, as the rice and the milk, and such flesh as they got, enabled him to do.

They were going on in this way, when the three unnatural scoundrels, their own countrymen, too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the

island was theirs ; that the governor, meaning me, had given them possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it ; that they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they would pay them rent for them, and so on.

The two men thought at first that they jested ; asked them to come and sit down, and see what fine houses they were that they had built, and tell them what rent they demanded ; and one of them merrily told them, if they were ground landlords, he hoped if they built tenements upon the lands, and made improvements, they would, according to the custom of all landlords, grant them a long lease : and bid them go for a scrivener to draw the writings. One of the three told them, with an oath, they should see they were not in jest ; and going to a little place at a distance, where the honest men had made a fire to dress their victuals, he took a fire-brand, and clapping it to the outside of their hut, set it on fire ; and it would have been all burnt down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thrust him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, though this was not done without some difficulty.

But not to crowd the story with a particular account of all their rogueries, such as treading down the corn, shooting three young kids, and a she-goat which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store, it is sufficient to say that they plagued them night and day in such a manner, that it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three the first time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this, they resolved to go to the castle, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and that the Spaniards should stand by to see fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the Englishmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that answered, that they wanted to speak with them.

It happened that the day before, two of the Spaniards, having been in the woods, had seen one of the two honest Englishmen ; and he had made a sad complaint to them of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at supper, one of them took the freedom to reprove the three Englishmen, though in very gentle and mannerly terms ; and asked them, how they could be so cruel

as to treat these inoffensive fellows in that way; that they were only putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labour; that it had cost them a great deal of pains to bring things to such perfection as they had, and that surely they ought to be let alone to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

One of the Englishmen answered very sharply, "What had they to do there? That they came on shore without leave, and that they should not plant or build upon the island; for it was none of their ground." "Why," said the Spaniard, very calmly, "Signor Inglese, "they must not starve." The Englishman replied, like a true rough-hewn fellow, that they might starve if they liked; for they should not plant or build." "But what must they do then, Signor?" said the Spaniard. Another of the brutes replied, "Do! they should be servants, and work for them." "But how can you expect that of them?" says the Spaniard; "they are not bought with your money; and you have no right to make them servants." The Englishman answered, that the island was theirs, that the governor had given it to them, and that no man had any thing to do there but themselves.

"Why, Signor," continued the Spaniard, "by the same rule, we must be your servants too." "Ay, replied the bold dog, with an oath, "and so you shall too, before we have done with you." The Spaniard only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them; and starting up, one (he they called Will Atkins) said to the other, "Come, Jack, let us go and have our other brush with them; we will demolish their castle, I will warrant you; they shall not plant in our dominions." Upon which they went all trooping away, each taking a gun, a pistol, and a sword.

Whither they went, or how they occupied their time that evening, the Spaniards did not know; but it seems they wandered about the country, part of the night, and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they fell asleep. They had in truth resolved to stay till midnight, and so to take the two poor men unawares; and as they acknowledged afterwards, they intended to set fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out: and, as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was very strange they should not have been kept waking.

However, as the two men had also a design upon them, as I have said, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad before the ruffians awoke and came to their huts.

When they came there and found the men gone, Atkins called out to his comrades, "Ha! Jack, here's the nest; but, confound them, the birds are flown." They mused awhile to think what might be the occasion of their being gone abroad so soon, and suggested presently that the Spaniards had given them notice of it; and with that they swore to one another that they would be revenged upon them. As soon as they had made this resolution, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation. They did not set fire indeed to any thing, but they threw down both their little houses, leaving not the least stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood; they tore all their household stuff in pieces, and scattered every thing about in such a manner, that the poor men afterwards found some of their things a mile distant from their habitation.

The two men were at this time gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two to three; so that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them; for they were all very stout resolute fellows, to give them their due. But Providence took more care to keep them asunder than they themselves could do to meet; for as they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three had returned to the old habitation again.

When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, took hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, leering in his face, said to him, "And you, Signor Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your manners." The Spaniard, who, though a quiet civil man, was as brave as a man could be, and withal strong and well-made, looked steadily at him for a good while; and then, having no weapon in his hand, slept

gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe; at which one of the rogues fired his pistol at the Spaniard immediately. He missed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled a good deal. The blood made the Spaniard believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, for before he acted in a perfect calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped and took the fellow's musket whom he had knocked down, and was going to shoot the man who had fired at him, when the rest of the Spaniards, being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stepped in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool, and giving the Spaniards better words, asked to have their arms again. But the Spaniards considering the feud that was between them and the other two Englishmen, and that it would be the best method they could take to keep them from killing one another, told them they would do them no harm, and, if they would live peaceably, they would be very willing to assist and associate with them, as they did before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, since they appeared so resolved to do mischief to their own countrymen, and had even threatened to make them all their servants.

Being thus refused their request, the rogues went away, raging like madmen, and threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms; but the Spaniards, despising their threatening, told them they must take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle; for if they did, they would shoot them, as they would do ravenous beasts, wherever they found them; and if they fell into their hands alive, they should certainly be hanged.

In about five-days time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, came back to the grove; and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards used them civilly, but told them, they had acted

so unnaturally towards their countrymen, and so very grossly towards them (the Spaniards), that they could not come to any conclusion without consulting the two Englishmen, and the rest; however, they would go to them, and discourse about it, and they should know in half an hour.

After some consultation they were called in, and a long debate ensued, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now. Upon this, the Spaniards acted the moderator between them; and as they had obliged the two Englishmen not to hurt the three, while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and build their fellows two huts, one to be of the same, and the other of larger dimensions than they were before; to fence their ground again where they had pulled up the fences, plant trees in the room of those rooted up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it; and, in a word, to restore every thing to the same state as they found it.

Well, they submitted to all this; and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together; only that these three fellows could never be persuaded to work for themselves, except now and then a little, just as they pleased. However, the Spaniards told them plainly, that if they would but live quietly together, and study on the whole the good of the plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleased. And thus, having lived pretty well together for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them their arms again, and liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after this that one night the Spaniard (the governor) found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep; he was perfectly well in body, but his thoughts were confused; his mind ran upon men fighting and killing one another, though all the time he was broad awake; at length, growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to get up. Having risen, he looked out, but it being dark, he could see little or nothing; and, besides, the trees intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear starlight night, and



hearing no noise, he returned and lay down again. But still he could not sleep; his thoughts were restless and uneasy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of the Spaniards awoke, and, calling out, asked who it was. The governor told him how it had been with him. "Say you so?" said the other Spaniard; "such things are not to be slighted, I assure you; there is certainly some mischief near us." And presently he asked him, "Where are the Englishmen?" "They are all in their huts," replied the other, "safe enough." "Well," said the Spaniard, "there is something in it, I am persuaded; this warning is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it. Let us go out and look abroad."

Upon this, they went up to the top of the hill, where I used to go, and no sooner were they there, than, to their surprise, they saw a light, as of fire, a very little way off from them, and heard the voices of men, not of one or two, but of a great number.

In all the discoveries I had made of the savages landing on the island, it was my constant care to prevent them from having the least idea of there being any inhabitant upon the place; and when upon any occasion they came to know it, they felt it so effectually, that they who got away were scarce able to give any account of it, for we disappeared as soon as possible; nor did ever any that had seen me escape to tell any one else, except it was the three savages in our last encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned that I was afraid they would go home and bring more help.

Whether it was in consequence of the escape of those men, that so great a number came now together; or whether they came by accident, on their usual horrid errand, the Spaniards could not understand. But whatever it was, their wisdom would have been to have concealed themselves, and not have let the savages see that there were any inhabitants in the place; or else they should have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been done by getting between them and their boats. But unfortunately this presence of mind was wanting to them.

The Spaniards were, you may be sure, in no small consternation; and as they found that the fellows ran straggling

all over the shore, they made no doubt but that some of them would stumble upon their habitation, or some other place where they would see the token of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity also for fear of their flock of goats, which would have been little less than starving them, if they had succeeded in destroying them. So the first thing they did was, to despatch three men away before it was light, viz. two Spaniards and one Englishman, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was.

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, they resolved at last, while it was still dark, to send Friday's father out as a spy, to learn, if possible, something concerning them, what they came for, and what they intended to do. This the old man readily undertook, and, stripping himself so as to look like the savages, away he went. After he had been gone an hour or two, he brought word, that he had been among them undiscovered; that he found they were two parties, and of two several nations who had made war with one another; and that both sides, having taken several prisoners in the fight, had by chance landed in the same island for devouring their prisoners and making merry. Their coming, however, to the same place had spoiled all their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another, and that they were so near, that he believed they would fight again as soon as daylight began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of any body's being on the island but themselves. He had hardly made an end of telling his story, when they could perceive, by the unusual noise they made, that the two armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father used all the arguments he could to persuade our people to keep still, and not let themselves be seen. He told them, their safety consisted in this; that they had nothing to do but to keep quiet, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and then the rest would go away. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the Englishmen; their curiosity was so great, that they must run out and see the battle; however, they used some caution too, for they did not go openly just by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themselves where they might securely see the fight, and, as they thought, not be

seen by them ; but it seems the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The fight lasted two hours before they could guess which party would be beaten ; but then, that party which was nearest our people's habitation began to appear the weaker, and, after some time more, some of them began to fly. This put our men again into a great consternation, lest any of those that fled should run into the grove for shelter, and thereby discover the place ; and that in consequence the pursuers should do the like in search of them.

As they expected, so it fell out ; three of the routed army fled for life, and crossing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter ; but luckily the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they went. Upon this the Spaniard governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives, but, sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round, and, coming in behind them, surprise and take them prisoners ; which was done. The residue of the conquered fled to their canoes, and got off to sea ; the victors retired, and drawing themselves into a body together, gave two great shouts, by way of triumph ; and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes.

This deliverance tamed the three English brutes for some time : the sight had filled them with horror, and the consequences appeared so terrible, if ever they should fall into the hands of those creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle, that for a time they were very tractable, and went about the common business of their own society well enough. But this state of quiet did not last long.

They had taken three prisoners, as I have observed ; and these three being lusty stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them, which they did well enough. But they did not proceed with them as I did with my man Friday, namely, to begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instruct them in the rational principles of life, much less of religion,—civilising and reducing them by kind usage and affectionate arguments ; but, as they gave them their food every day, so

they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery. But they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them, as I had my man Friday, ~~who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.~~

And now they had another broil with the three Englishmen; one of whom, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage with one of the three slaves, because the fellow had not done something right which he bid him do, drew a hatchet out of a belt which he wore by his side, and fell upon the poor savage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards, who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but struck into his shoulder, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and entreating him not to murder the poor man, stepped in between him and the savage, to prevent farther mischief.

The fellow, being the more enraged at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel, which he had in his hand (for they were all working in the field about their corn-land), knocked the brute down: another of the Englishmen, running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down; and then two Spaniards more came to help their man, and a third Englishman fell in upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except this third Englishman; he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the two last Spaniards, and wounded them both. This fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Englishmen prisoners. The next question was, what should be done with them? They had been so often mutinous, and were so desperate, and so idle withal, that they knew not what course to take with them; for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and cared not what hurt they did to any man; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The Spaniard, the governor, told them in so many words, that if they had been his own countrymen he would have hanged them; for all laws and all governors were to preserve society, and those who were dangerous to the society

ought to be expelled from it. But as they were Englishmen, and as it was to the generous kindness of an Englishman that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and would leave them to the judgment of the other two Englishmen, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honest Englishmen stood up, and said they desired it might not be left to them; "for," said he, "I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows." And with that he gave an account how Will Atkins, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five Englishmen join together and murder all the Spaniards when they were in their sleep.

When the Spanish governor heard this, he called to Atkins. "How, Signor Atkins," said he, "would you murder us all? What have you to say to that?" The hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true, and that they would do it still before they had done with them. "Well but, Signor Atkins," said the Spaniard, "what have we done to you, that you will kill us? and what must we do to prevent you killing us? Must we kill you, or you will kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Signor Atkins?"

Atkins was in such a rage at the Spaniard's making a jest of it, that, had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapons near him, it was thought he would have attempted to kill the Spaniard in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brained conduct obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done. After a long debate, it was agreed, first, that the three villains should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or shot, or sword, or any weapon, and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would and how they would by themselves; but that none of the rest, either Spaniards or English, should converse with them, or have any thing to do with them; that they should not be allowed to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any disorder, so as to burn, kill, or destroy any thing belonging to the society, they should die without mercy.

The governor, who was a man of great humanity, musing upon the sentence, considered a little upon it; and turning to the two honest Englishmen, said, "Hold! you must reflect that it will be long ere they can raise corn and cattle of their

own, and as they must not starve, we must allow them provisions." So he caused to be added, that they should have a proportion of corn given them to last them eight months, and seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own; that they should have six milch-goats, four he-goats, and six kids given them, as well for present subsistence as for a store; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the field, such as six hatchets, an axe, a saw, and the like.

Thus they dismissed them from the society, and turned them out to shift for themselves. They went away sullen and refractory, as if neither contented to go away nor stay; but as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and choose a place where they should settle, and plant and live by themselves.

About four or five days after, they came again for some victuals, and told the governor where they had pitched their tents, and marked for themselves a habitation and plantation: it was a very convenient place indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N.E., much about the place where I landed in my first voyage, when I was driven out to sea in my attempt to sail round the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, close under the side of a hill, like my first habitation, having some trees growing already on the three sides of it; so that by planting others, it would be easily hidden from the sight, unless narrowly searched for. They desired some dried goat-skins for beds and covering, which were given them; and upon giving their word that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, they had hatchets and other tools given them; some peas, barley, and rice, for sowing; and, in a word, every thing but arms and ammunition.

About three quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolic took these rogues, which, together with the former villany they had committed, brought mischief enough among them, and had very nearly been the ruin of the whole colony. The three new associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumstances; and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent, from whence the savages came, and would try if they could not seize upon some pri-

soners among the natives there, and bring them home, and make them do the laborious part of the work for them.

So the three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and proposed their plan. The Spaniards very readily heard what they had to say; which was this, that they were tired of living in the manner they did, that they were not handy enough to make the necessaries they wanted, and that having no help, they found they should be starved; but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main and seek their fortune.

The Spaniards, though glad enough to be rid of them, yet very honestly represented to them the danger they were running into; told them they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit of prophecy, tell them that they would be starved or murdered; and bade them consider of it.

The men replied, that they should be starved if they stayed here, for they could not and would not work, and they could but be starved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them; they had no wives or children to cry after them; and, in short, insisted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them arms or no.

The Spaniards told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves; and that though they could ill spare their fire-arms, having not enough for themselves, yet they would let them have two muskets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet.

They accepted the offer; and the Spaniards having given them bread enough to serve them a month, and as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

The boat was a large one, and would have very well carried fifteen or twenty men, and therefore was rather too big for them to manage; but as they had a fair breeze and

the flood-tide with them, they did well enough. They had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat-skins dried, which they had sewed or laced together; and away they went merrily enough. The Spaniards called after them, "*Bon voyage!*" but no man ever thought of seeing them any more.

The Spaniards would often say to one another and the two honest Englishmen who remained behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived, now that those three turbulent fellows were gone. As for their ever coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts that could be imagined; when, behold, in about twenty days after one of the Englishmen being abroad upon his planting-work, saw three strange men coming towards him at a distance, two of them with guns upon their shoulders.

Away ran the Englishman as if he was bewitched to the governor Spaniard, and told him they were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island, they could not tell who. The Spaniard, pausing awhile, said, "How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are the savages, to be sure." "No, no," says the Englishman, "they are men in clothes, with arms." "Nay, then," says the Spaniard, "why are you concerned? If they are not savages, they must be friends; for there is no Christian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm."

While they were debating thus, the three Englishmen came, and standing without the wood which was new planted, hallooed to them. They presently knew their voices, and so all the wonder ceased. But now the question was, what could be the matter, and what made them come back again?

It was not long before they brought the men in, and inquiring where they had been and what they had been doing, they gave them a full account of their voyage in a few words, namely, that they reached the land in two days, or something less, but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island. Then entering that opening of the sea they saw another island on the right hand north, and several more west, and being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to



one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore; here they found the people very courteous and friendly to them, and they gave them several roots and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable; and the women, as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with any thing they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and inquired, as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way and that way; and were told of several fierce and terrible people who, as they made signs to them, were in the habit of eating men. But as for themselves, they said that they never eat men or women, except only such as they took in the wars; and then they owned that they made a great feast, and eat their prisoners.

The Englishmen inquired when they had a feast of that kind; and they told them about two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he was keeping for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed very desirous to see those prisoners; but the other mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising; which was to signify, that the next morning, at sun-rising, they would bring some for them; and accordingly, the next morning, they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Englishmen to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a sea-port to victual a ship.

Brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do; to refuse the prisoners would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them, and what to do with them they knew not: however, after some debate, they resolved to accept of them; and, in return, they gave the savages a hatchet, an old key, a knife, and six or seven bullets, which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with; and then, tying the poor creatures' hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the poor prisoners into the boat for our men.

The Englishmen were obliged to come away as soon as

they had them, or else they that gave them this noble present would certainly have expected that they should have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner. But, having taken their leave with all the respects and thanks that could well pass between people, where, on either side, they understood not one word that was said, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island, where, when they arrived, they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their use.

When the three wanderers had given this history of their voyage, the Spaniard asked them, where their new family was? And being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come up to beg some victuals for them; they (the Spaniards) and the other two Englishmen, that is to say, the whole colony, resolved to go down to the place and see them, which they did, and Friday's father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound: first, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well-shaped, with straight and fair limbs, about thirty to thirty-five years of age, and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty, two more not above four or five and twenty, and the fifth, a tall, comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen. The women were well-favoured agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfectly white, would have passed for very handsome women even in London itself, having very pleasant agreeable countenances, and being of a very modest behaviour.

The first thing the Spaniards did, was to cause the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in, and see, first, if he knew any of the captives, and then, if he understood any of their speech. As soon as the old man came in, he looked closely at them, but knew none of them, neither could any of them understand what he said, except two of the women.

However, this was enough to answer the end, which was, to satisfy them that the men into whose hands they were fallen were Christians; that they abhorred the eating of men or women, and that they might be sure they would not be killed. As soon as they were assured of this, they discovered such a joy, and by such awkward and various ways,

as is hard to describe; for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman, who was their interpreter, was bid, in the next place, to ask them if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away, to save their lives? At which they all fell a dancing; and presently one began to take up this, and another that, and any thing that lay near, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor now asked the three men, what they intended to do with these women, and how they intended to behave to them, whether as servants, or as wives? One of the Englishmen answered very boldly and readily, that they would treat them as both. To which the governor said, "I am not going to restrain you from it; you are your own masters as to that; but this I think is but just, for avoiding disorders and quarrels among you, and I desire it of you for that reason only, namely, that you will all engage, that if any of you take any of these women, that he shall take but one; for though we cannot rightly marry any of you, yet it is but reasonable, that while you stay here, the woman any of you takes should be maintained by the man that takes her, and should be his wife." All this appeared so just, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Although the three reprobates were much civilised by their new settlement compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome (having not the same opportunity), yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them: "I went by the vineyard of the slothful—it was all overgrown with thorns;" for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds; the hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had got in and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead bush was crammed in, to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable-door after the steed was stolen. Whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did: there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in

another place, that "the hand of the diligent maketh rich;" for every thing grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the others, more utensils and necessaries within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors; and having learned the English ways of dressing and cooking from one of the Englishmen, who had been cook's mate on board the ship, they dressed their husband's victuals very nicely and well. But as for the husbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtles' eggs, and caught fish and birds; in a word, did any thing but labour; and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably; and the slothful lived hard and beggarly; and so I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

But I now come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or me.

Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of savages; and there is no doubt they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their prisoners. But that was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it; and having been made sensible by their experience, that the only way was to lie concealed while the savages stayed on the island, they had nothing to do but to give notice to the people in all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not to shew themselves; only placing a scout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went to sea again.

This was, without doubt, very right; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among the savages, that there were inhabitants there; and this was, in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again; and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground. It was supposed they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that they fell asleep, and could not stir when the others went; or that they had wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken into the boats.

The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and at a loss what to do. The Spaniard governor was with them, and his advice was asked; but he professed he knew not what to do: as for slaves, they had enough already, and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that. The poor creatures had done them no wrong, nor invaded any of their property, and they thought they had no just cause to take away their lives.

And here I must, in justice to these Spaniards, observe that, let the accounts of Spanish cruelty in Mexico and Peru be what they may, I never met with seventeen men of any nation whatsoever, in any foreign country, who were so universally modest, temperate, virtuous, so very good-humoured, and so courteous, as these Spaniards: as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their nature; no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous passions; and yet all of them were men of great courage and spirit. Their temper and calmness had appeared in their bearing the insufferable usage of the three Englishmen; and their justice and humanity appeared now in the case of these savages.

After some consultation, they resolved to lie still a while longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone; but then the governor recollected that the three savages had no boat; and that if they were left to rove about the island, they would certainly discover that there were inhabitants in it, and so they should be undone that way. Upon this they went back again, and as the fellows were fast asleep still, they resolved to waken them, and take them prisoners.

The poor fellows were strangely frightened when they were seized upon and bound, and were afraid, like the women, that they should be murdered and eaten; for, it seems, those people think all the world does as they do, eating men's flesh: but they were soon made easy as to that.

It was very happy for them that they did not take them home to the castle under the hill; but they carried them first to the bower, where was the chief of their country work, such as the keeping the goats, the planting the corn, &c.; and afterwards to the habitation of the two Englishmen. Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do: and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not help them-

selves, I know not, but one of them ran away, and, taking to the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after in some other boats or canoes of savages who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two-days time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without cause, that if this fellow got safe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how weak and few they were; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told (and it was very happy he had not) how many there were, or where they lived, nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shewn him any of their other retired places, such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat, which the two Englishmen had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had, that this fellow had given intelligence of them, was, that about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about eight or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about a mile from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept. As the governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped: but the case differed now very much; for two men to fifty was too much odds. The two men had the good luck to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed; and as they landed a mile from their huts, it was some time before they could get to them. Now, having great reason to believe they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to bind the two slaves that were left, and cause two of the three men, whom they brought with the women, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired place in the woods which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot, till they heard farther.

In the next place, seeing that the savages had all come on shore, and that they bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle into the

woods whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild. But the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and had given them an account of it all; for they went directly to the place. When the two poor frightened men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had, of the three who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the Spaniards with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help; and, in the mean time, they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were sent, keeping at a distance, yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far, when from a rising ground they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more could see all their huts and household-stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for this was a very great loss; to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept their station awhile, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in search for prey; and, in particular, for the people, of whom it now plainly appeared they had been told.

The two Englishmen seeing this, and thinking themselves not secure where they stood, as it was likely some of the wild people might come that way, thought proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick-grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was large and hollow, and in this tree they both took their stand, resolving to wait and see what might offer. They had not stood there long, before two of the savages appeared, running directly that way as if they were coming up to attack them; and a little way farther they spied three more coming after them, and five more beyond; besides which, they saw seven or eight more at a distance running another way; for, in short, they ran every way, like sportsmen beating for game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they

should stand and keep their posture, or fly ; but after a very short debate among themselves, they considered, that if the savages ranged the country thus, before help came, they might, perhaps, find out their retreat in the woods, and then all would be lost ; so they resolved to withstand them there ; and if there were too many to deal with, then they would get to the top of the tree, from whence they would defend themselves as long as their ammunition lasted.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the first two, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party ; by which the two and the five that followed would be separated : at last they resolved to let the first two pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The first two savages also confirmed them in this determination, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood ; but the three, and the five after them, came forward directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there.

Seeing them come so straight towards them, they resolved to take them in a line as they came ; and as they intended to fire but one at a time, perhaps the first shot might hit them all three ; to which purpose, the man who was to fire put three or four small bullets into his piece, and having a loop-hole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the runaway savage that had escaped from them : they both knew him directly, and resolved that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire ; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot he should be sure to have a second.

But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim, and as the savages kept near one another, a little behind in a line, he fired and hit two of them directly : the foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head ; the second, who was the runaway, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead : the third had a little scratch on the shoulder, and being dreadfully frightened, though not much hurt, sat down, screaming and yelling, upon the ground. The five that were behind, more frightened with the noise than sensi-



ble of the danger, stood still at first, for the woods made the sound a thousand times greater than it really was; the echoes rattling from one side to another, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming, and making every sort a several kind of noise, according to their kind; just as it was when I fired the first gun that, perhaps, was ever shot off in that place since it was an island.

However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on till they reached the place where their companions lay, and here the poor creatures, not sensible that they were near the same danger, stood all of a heap over the wounded man, talking, and as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and who, very likely, told them that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that thunder from their gods, had killed those two and wounded him.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger; yet, having them all thus in their power, they resolved to let fly both together among them; and singling out by agreement which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded, four of them: the fifth, frightened even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest; so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The man that was not hurt sat up, and came and kneeled down to them, with his hands held up, and made piteous moans to them, by gestures and signs, for his life. Upon this they signed to him to sit down at the foot of a tree close by, when one of the Englishmen, with a piece of rope-twine, tied his feet and hands fast, and there they left him; and, with what speed they could, made after the other two, who were gone before, fearing lest they should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives and their goods were. However, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley, towards the sea, quite a contrary way to that which led to their retreat, and, being satisfied with this, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner. It appeared, however, that he had been delivered by his comrades; for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope, with which they had bound him, lay at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great concern as before, not knowing

how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; so they resolved to go to the place where their wives were, to see if all was right there, and to make them easy, who, no doubt, were in fright enough; for though the savages were their own country folk, yet they were terribly afraid of them, and the more from the knowledge they had of their ways.

When they came there, they found the savages had been in the wood, and near to the place, but had not found it; every thing, therefore, was safe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were there, they had the comfort to find seven of the Spaniards come to their assistance; the other ten, with their servants and old Friday, had gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle which were kept there, in case the savages should have moved over to that side of the country. With the seven Spaniards came one of the three savages who were their prisoners formerly, and with them also the savage that the Englishman had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it seems they came that way, saw the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them.

When the Spaniards arrived, the two Englishmen were so encouraged that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there, but taking five of the Spaniards, with four muskets and a pistol, and two stout quarter-staves, among them, they went out in quest of the savages. First, they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; and it was easy to see that some more of the savages had been there, for they had attempted to carry their dead men away, and had, in fact, dragged two of them a good way. From thence they advanced to the first rising ground, where they had stood and seen their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see some of the smoke; but neither could they here see any of the savages. They then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation; but a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarking in their canoes. They seemed sorry for this at first, and that there was no way of getting at them to give them a parting blow; but upon the whole, they were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Englishmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvements destroyed, the rest all agreed to come and help

them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Even their three own countrymen had, as soon as they heard of it (for they, living remote eastward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over), came and offered their help and assistance, and worked very amicably for several days, to restore their habitation; and thus, in a little time, they were set upon their feet again.

It was five or six months after this, before our men heard any more of the savages; when, on a sudden, they were invaded with a most formidable fleet, of no less than eight and twenty canoes full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such like engines of war; and they brought such numbers with them, that it put all our people into the utmost consternation. As they came on shore in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do. In the first place, knowing that to remain entirely concealed was their only safety before, and would much more be so now, when the number of their enemies was so great, they resolved first of all, to take down the huts which were built for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; supposing the savages would go directly thither, as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower which belonged to the Spaniards; and, in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants as was possible. Next morning early they posted themselves with all their force at the plantation of the two men, and waited for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened; these new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore, directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small, and, what was worse, they had not arms for all their number.

First as to men.—There were seventeen Spaniards, five Englishmen, old Friday, the three slaves taken with the women, and three other slaves who lived with the Spaniards.

As to arms, they had eleven muskets, five pistols, three fowling-pieces, five muskets which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen, two swords, and three old halberts.

To their slaves they did not give either musket or fusce,

but each had a halbert, or a long staff like a quarter-staff, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet; also every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon but they too would come into the fight; so they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the savages, at the first action, when the Indians fought with one another; they had also hatchets.

The Spaniard governor commanded the whole; and Atkins, who, though a wicked fellow, was most daring and bold, commanded under him. The savages came forward like lions, and our men had no advantage in their situation; only that Will Atkins, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first of them pass by, and then fire into the middle of them; and, as soon as he had fired, to make his retreat as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the Spaniards where they stood, having a thicket of trees also before them.

When the savages came on, they ran staggering about every way in crowds, out of all order, and Atkins let about fifty of them pass by him; then, seeing the rest come in a very thick throng, he ordered three of his men to fire, having loaded their muskets with six or seven bullets a-piece. How many they killed or wounded, they knew not, but the consternation was inexpressible among the savages, to hear such a dreadful noise, and see some of their countrymen killed, and others hurt, and yet be unable to see anybody that did it. In the middle of their fright, Atkins, and the other three, let fly again among the thickest of them; and in less than a minute, the other three having loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had Atkins and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do, or had the rest of the body been at hand to have poured in their shot continually, the savages would have been effectually routed; for not being able to discover any one that hurt them, they were dreadfully terrified, from the notion that they were killed by their gods with thunder and lightning; but Atkins staying to load again, discovered the cheat: whereupon some of the savages, who were at a distance, spying them, came upon them behind; and though Atkins and his men fired at them

also, two or three times, and killed about twenty, retiring as fast they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow Englishmen with their arrows, as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women.

Our men being thus hard put to it, retreated to a rising ground in the wood, where the Spaniards, after firing three volleys upon them, retreated also; for the number of the savages was so great, and they were so desperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and as many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little army up together upon a rising ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, would have marched, and charged them again all together at once; but the Spaniard replied, "Signor Atkins, you see how their wounded men fight; let them alone till morning; all these wounded men will be stiff and sore with their wounds, and faint with the loss of blood, and so we shall have the fewer to engage."

The advice was good; but Atkins replied merrily, "That is true, Signor, and so shall I too; and that is the reason I would go on while I am warm." "Well, Signor Atkins," said the Spaniard, "you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on; but I think it best to stay till morning." So they waited.

But as it was a clear moonlight night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great hurry and noise among them, they afterwards resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they could give them but one volley before they were discovered. This they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two Englishmen, in whose quarter it was where the fight began, led them round westward, between the woods and the seaside, and then turning south, they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen or heard, eight of them fired in among them, and did dreadful execution; in half a minute more eight others fired after them, pouring in their small shot in such a quantity, that a great number were killed and wounded; while all this time they were not able to see who hurt them, or to know which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again, with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, and resolved to fall in among them all together: they had in each body eight persons, that is to say twenty-four, whereof twenty-two were men, and two women, who, by the way, fought desperately.

They divided the fire-arms equally in each party, and so of the halberts and staves. They would have had the women keep back; but they said, they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the teeth of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could. The savages stood all together, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together. They would have fought if they had seen them; and, as soon as they came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerously. Our men gave them no time; but running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the butt-ends of their muskets, their swords, armed staves and hatchets; and laid about them so well, that the savages set up a most dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which ever way they could.

Our men were now tired with the execution; they had killed, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about 180 of them; the rest being scared out of their wits, scoured through the woods, and over the hills, with all the speed that fear and nimble feet could help them to do; and as our people did not care much to pursue them, they got all together to the seaside, where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end; for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the seaward, so that it was impossible for them to go off; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore that it required infinite toil to get them off; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach or against one another.

Our men, though glad of their victory, took but little rest that night; and having refreshed themselves as well as they could, they resolved to march to that part of the island to which the savages had fled, and see in what state they were. This led them over the place where the fight had been; and

here they found several of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet past recovering life; a sight disagreeable enough to generous minds,—for a truly great man, though obliged by the law of battle to destroy his enemy, takes no delight in his misery.

At length they came in view of the place where the chief remains of the savages' army lay. Here there appeared about one hundred still: their posture was generally sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head between the two hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two musket-shot of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two muskets to be fired without ball, to alarm them; this he did that by their countenance he might know what to expect, viz. whether they were still in heart to fight, or so beaten as to be thoroughly dispirited and discouraged.

This stratagem took; for as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up on their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable; and, as our men advanced swiftly towards them, they all ran screaming and yelling away, with a kind of howling noise, which our men did not understand, and had never heard before; and thus they ran up the hills into the country.

At first our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and that they had all gone away to sea; but they did not then consider that this might probably have been the occasion of their coming again in such multitudes as not to be resisted, or, at least, to come so many and so often as would quite desolate the island, and starve them. Will Atkins, therefore, who, notwithstanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the best counsellor in this case; his advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and to run in between them and their boats, and so make it impossible for them ever to return any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this, and some were against it, for fear of making the wretches fly into the woods, and live there desperate; and so they should have them to hunt like wild beasts, be afraid to stir out about their business, and have their plantations continually rifled, all their tame goats destroyed, and, in short, be reduced to a life of continual distress.

Atkins told them, however, they had better have to do with 100 men than with 100 nations; that as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he showed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all agreed to it. So they went to work immediately with the boats, and, getting some dry wood together, they tried to set some of them on fire; but they were so wet that they would not burn. However, the fire so burned the upper part that it soon made them unfit for use as boats. When the Indians saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods, and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down, and cried, "Oa, Oa, Waramokoa," and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood any thing of; but as they made pitiful gestures and strange noises, it was easy to understand they begged to have their boats spared, and that they would be gone, and never come there again.

But our men were now satisfied that they had no means of preserving themselves, or their colony, but effectually to prevent any of these people from ever going home again. So they fell to work with the canoes, and destroyed every one that the storm had not destroyed before: at the sight of which the savages raised a hideous cry in the woods, after which they ran about the island like distracted men; so that our men did not really know at first what to do with them.

Nor did the Spaniards, with all their prudence, consider that, while they made these people thus desperate, they ought to have kept good guard at the same time upon their plantations; for though it is true they had driven away their cattle, and the Indians did not find out their main retreat, I mean my old castle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley, yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it, trod all the corn under foot, tore up the vines and grapes, being just then almost ripe, and did an inestimable damage to our men, though to themselves not one farthing's worth of service.

Though our people were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up and down; for as they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them single, so our men durst not go about single, for fear of being surrounded with their numbers. Luckily, however, they had no weapons; for though



they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any, nor had they any edged tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to was deplorable; but at the same time our men were also brought to very bad circumstances by them; for though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled, and what to do, or which way to turn themselves, they knew not. The only refuge they had now was the stock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there, and the plantation of the three Englishmen, Will Atkins and his comrades, who were now reduced to two, one of them having been killed by an arrow.

The first thing they concluded, when they saw what their circumstances were, was, that they would, if possible, drive them up to the farther part of the island, south-west, that if any more savages came on shore, they might not find one another; then, that they would daily hunt and harass them, and kill as many of them as they could get at, till they had reduced their number; and if they could at last tame them, and bring them to any thing, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant, and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this, they so followed them, and so terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and so dreadfully frightened they were, that they kept out of sight, farther and farther, till at last our men, following them, and every day almost killing or wounding some of them, they kept up in the woods and hollow places so much, that it reduced them to the utmost misery for want of food; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them, especially the Spaniard governor; and he proposed, if possible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to understand what they meant, so far as to be able to act as interpreter, and to go among them, and see if they might be brought to some conditions that might be depended upon, to save their own lives and to do their masters no injury.

It was some time before any of them could be taken; but being weak and half-starved, one of them was at last sur-

prised, and made a prisoner. He was sullen at first, and would neither eat nor drink; but finding himself kindly used, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him, he at last grew tractable, and came to himself.

They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them a part of the island to live in, provided they would give security that they would keep within their own bounds, and not come beyond them to injure others; and that they should have corn given them to plant and make it grow for their bread, and some bread given them for their present subsistence. Old Friday then bade the fellow go and talk with the rest of his countrymen, and see what they said to it; assuring them, if they did not agree immediately they should be all destroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-seven, closed with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food. Upon which twelve Spaniards and two Englishmen, well armed, with three Indian slaves and old Friday, marched to the place where they were. The three Indian slaves carried them a large quantity of bread, some rice boiled up to cakes and dried in the sun, and three live goats; they were then ordered to go to the side of a hill, where they sat down and eat the provisions very thankfully. They proved, moreover, to be the most faithful fellows to their word that could be thought of: for, except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds: and there they lived when I came to the island, and I went to see them.

They had been taught to plant, to make bread, to breed tame goats, and to milk them. They were confined to a neck of land, surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying level towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island. They had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful; about a mile and a half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself; and one thing was remarkable, namely, that when they taught the savages to make wicker-work, or baskets, these soon outdid their masters, for they made abundance of most ingenious things, all sorts of baskets, sieves,

bird-cages, cupboards, &c.; as also chairs to sit on, stools, beds, couches, and many other things.

My coming was a great comfort to these people, for we furnished them with knives, scissors, spades, shovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want. With the help of these tools they were so handy, that they came at last to build their huts, or houses, very handsomely, raddling or working like basket-work all the way round, which was an extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd, but was an exceedingly good fence, as well against heat as against all sorts of vermin: and our men were so taken with it, that they got the savages to come and do the like for them. So that when I came to see the two Englishmen's colonies, they looked, at a distance, as if they lived all like bees in a hive; and as for Will Atkins, who was now become a very industrious and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket-work as, I believe, was never seen; nor a house or tent so neatly contrived, much less so built. In this great bee-hive lived the three families; that is to say, Will Atkins and his companion. The third was killed, but his wife remained with three children; and the other two were not at all backward in giving the widow her full share of every thing, their corn, milk, grapes, &c., and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the shore. So that they all lived well enough, though it was true they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, viz. that as for religion, I don't know that there was any thing of that kind among them; they pretty often, indeed, put one another in mind, that there was a God, by the very common method of seamen, viz. swearing by His Name; nor were their poor, ignorant savage wives much the better for having been married to Christians, as we must call them; for as they knew very little of God themselves, so they were utterly incapable of entering into any discourse with their wives about a God, or of talking any thing to them concerning religion.

The utmost of all the improvement which I can say the wives had made from them was, that they had taught them to speak English very well; and all the children they had, which was near twenty in all, were taught to speak English too, from their first learning to speak, though they at first spoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. There

were none of these children above six years old when I came thither; for it was not much above seven years that they had fetched these five savage ladies over; but they had all had children, more or less. The mothers were all a good sort of quiet, laborious women, modest and decent, helpful to one another, obedient and subject to their masters, or husbands; and wanted nothing but to be well instructed in the Christian religion, and to be legally married; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or, at least, in consequence of my coming among them.

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## CHAPTER IX.



HAVING thus given a view of the state of things as I found them, I must relate the heads of what I did for these people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion, and mine too, that they would be troubled no more with the savages; or that if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before; so they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard governor, about their stay in the island; for as I was not come to

carry all of them off, so it would not be just to carry off some, and leave others, who perhaps would be unwilling to stay if their number was diminished.

On the other hand, I told them, I came to establish them there, not to remove them; and then I let them know, that I had brought with me relief of sundry kinds for them; that I had been at great charge to supply them with all things necessary as well for their convenience as for their defence; and that I had such and such particular persons with me, as well to increase and recruit their number, as by the particular trades which they were bred to, to assist them in those things in which, at present, they were deficient.

They were all together when I talked thus to them, and before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them, one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the first animosities that had been among them, and would shake hands with one another, and engage in a strict friendship and union of interests, that so there might be no more misunderstandings or jealousies.

Will Atkins, with abundance of frankness and good humour, said, that "they had met with afflictions enough to make them all sober, and enemies enough to make them all friends; that, for his part, he would live and die with them, and was so far from designing any thing against the Spaniards, that he owned they had done nothing to him but what his own mad humour made necessary, and what he would have done in their case; that he would ask them pardon, if I desired it, for the foolish and brutish things he had done to them; and was very willing and desirous of living on terms of entire friendship and union with them.

After these frank and open declarations of friendship, we appointed the next day to dine all together. I caused the ship's cook and his mate to come on shore, and dress our dinner, and the old cook's mate we had on shore assisted; so that we had indeed a splendid feast. We brought on shore six pieces of good beef, and four pieces of pork, out of the ship's provision, with our punch-bowl, and materials to fill it: I gave them ten bottles of French claret, and ten bottles of English beer,—things that neither the Spaniards nor the Englishmen had tasted for many years, and which, it may be supposed, they were exceedingly glad of. The Spaniards added to our feast five whole kids, which the cooks roasted; and three of them were sent, covered up close, on board the ship to the seamen, that they might feast on fresh meat from on shore, as we did with their salt meat from on board.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods, and that there might be no dispute about dividing, I shewed them that there was sufficient for them all; desired that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing; that is to say, equal when made up. As, first, I distributed linen sufficient to make every one of them six shirts; these were exceedingly comfortable to them, being what, as I may say, they had long since forgot the use of.

The thin English stuffs, which I mentioned before, I allotted to make every one a light coat, like a frock, which I judged fittest for the heat of the season, cool and loose; and ordered, that whenever they decayed, they should make more, as they thought fit. The like for shoes, stockings, hats, &c.

I cannot express what pleasure sat upon the countenances of all these poor men, when they saw the care I had taken of them and how well I had furnished them. They told me, I was a father to them; and that, having such a correspondent as I was, in so remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a solitary place; and they all voluntarily engaged not to leave the place without my consent.

Then I presented to them the people I had brought with me;—the tailor, the smith, and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary persons; but above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name any thing that was more useful to them.

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and, lastly, my magazine of powder and arms, which were so abundant, even to profusion, that they were able to fight even a thousand savages.

I took on shore with me the young man whose mother was starved to death, and the maid also; she was a sober, well-educated, religious young woman, and behaved so inoffensively that every one gave her a good word. She had not, indeed, a very pleasant life with us, there being no woman in the ship but herself; but she bore it with patience. After a while, seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving upon my island, and considering that they had neither business nor acquaintance in the East Indies, nor reason for taking so long a voyage, both of them came to me, and desired I would give them leave to remain on the island,

and be entered among my family, as they called it. To this I readily agreed.

It is now time that I should say something of the French ecclesiastic that I had brought with me out of the ship's crew. He was a grave, sober, and most religious person; exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplary in every thing he did. From the first hour that I began to converse with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the East Indies, I found reason to delight exceedingly in his conversation. And he began with me about religion, in the most obliging manner imaginable.

"Sir," said he, "you have not only, under GOD (and at that he crossed himself) saved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ship, and by your obliging civility have taken me into your family, giving me an opportunity of free conversation. Now, sir, you see by my habit what my profession is; it is my duty to use my utmost endeavours, on all occasions, to bring all the souls I can to the knowledge of the true faith; but, as I am here under your permission, and in your family, I am bound, in justice to your kindness, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government; and therefore I shall not, without your leave, enter on the subject of religion farther than you shall give me leave."

He then gave me a most entertaining account of his life, and of the many extraordinary adventures which had befallen him in the few years that he had been abroad in the world; but I shall not make digressions into other men's stories, which have no relation to my own. I return to what concerns our affair in the island. He came to me one morning, just when I was going to visit the Englishmen's colony, at the farthest part of the island, and said, with a very grave countenance, that he had, for two or three days, desired an opportunity of some discourse with me, which, he hoped, would not be displeasing to me, because he thought it might, in some measure, correspond with my general design, which was the prosperity of my new colony; and, perhaps, might put it, at least more than he thought it yet was, in the way of GOD's blessing.

I looked a little surprised at the last part of his discourse, and turning a little short; "How," sir, said I, "can it be said, that we are not in the way of GOD's blessing, after such

visible assistances and wonderful deliverances as we have seen here, and of which I have given you an account?"

"If you had pleased, sir," said he, with much modesty and yet with great readiness, "to have heard me, you would have found no room to have been displeased, much less to think so hard of me, that I should suggest that you have not had wonderful assistances and deliverances. And I hope, on your behalf, that you are in the way of God's blessing, and that your designs will prosper. But, sir, though it were more so than is even possible to you, yet there may be some among you that are not equally right in their actions. And you know, that in the story of the children of Israel, one Achan in the camp removed God's blessing from them, and turned His hand so against them, that six and thirty of them, even though not concerned in the crime, were the object of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of that punishment."

I was sensibly touched with his discourse, and told him his inference was so just, and the whole design seemed so sincere, and was really so religious in its own nature, that I was very sorry I had interrupted him; and begged him to go on. In the mean time, as it seemed that what we had to say might take up some time, I told him I was going to the Englishmen's plantations, and asked him to go with me, and we might discourse by the way. So we walked on, and I pressed him to be free and plain with me in what he had to say.

"Well, then, sir," said he, "I will take the liberty you give me; and there are three things, which, if I am right, must stand in the way of God's blessing upon your endeavours here, and which I should rejoice, for your sake, and your people's, to see removed. And, sir, I promise myself that you will fully agree with me in them all, as soon as I name them; especially because I shall convince you, that every one of them may, with great ease, and very much to your satisfaction, be remedied."

"First, sir," said he, "you have here four Englishmen, who have taken women from among the savages, and have adopted them as their wives, and yet are not married to them, as the laws of God and man require. To this, sir, I know you will object, that there was no clergyman to perform the ceremony, nor any pen and ink, or paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it signed between them. And I know also, sir, what the Spaniard governor has told



you; I mean of the agreement that he obliged them to make when they took these women. But," he continued, "these men may, when they please, or when occasion presents, abandon these women, disown their children, leave them to perish, and take other women and marry them whilst these are living." And here he added, with some warmth, "How, sir, can GOD be honoured in such a state of things? And how shall a blessing rest upon your endeavours, when it is certainly in your power to put an end to it?"

I confess I was struck at the thing itself, but much more with the convincing arguments he supported it with. I granted all that he had said to be just, and, on his part, very kind; and that I would discourse with the men upon the point now, when I came to them. And I knew no reason why they should scruple to let him marry them all; which I knew would be granted to be authentic and valid in England.

I then pressed him to tell me what was the second complaint which he had to make. He told me he would use the same freedom and plainness as before, and hoped I would take it as well: and this was, that notwithstanding these English subjects of mine, as he called them, had lived with those women for almost seven years, had taught them to speak English, and even to read it, and that they were, as he perceived, women of tolerable understanding, and capable of instruction; yet they had not to this hour taught them any thing of the Christian religion, no, not so much as to know that there was a God, or in what manner He was to be served; or that their own idolatry, and worshipping they knew not whom, was false.

This, he said, was an unaccountable neglect, and what God would certainly call them to account for; and, perhaps, at last, take the work out of their hands. He spoke this very affectionately and warmly. "I am persuaded," said he, "had these men lived in the savage country whence their wives came, the savages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolaters, and to worship idols, than any of these men have taken with them to teach them the knowledge of the true God. Now, sir, surely we should endeavour to have the devil's servants, and the subjects of his kingdom, taught to know the great principles of the Christian religion; that they may hear of GOD, and of a REDEEMER, and of the Resurrection, and of a future state of happiness and misery.

I could contain myself no longer; I took him in my arms, and embraced him. "How far," said I, "have I been from understanding the most essential part of a Christian, namely, to love the interests of the Christian faith, and the good of other men's souls! I have scarcely known what belongs to being a Christian!" "Oh, sir, do not say so," replied he: "this thing is not your fault." "No," said I, "but why did I never lay it to heart as well as you?" "'Tis not too late yet," said he; "be not too forward to condemn yourself." "But what can be done now?" said I; "you see I am going away." "Will you give me leave," said he, "to talk with these poor men about it?" "Yes, with all my heart," said I: "and I will oblige them to give heed to what you say too." "As to that," said he, "we must leave them to the mercy of CHRIST: but 'tis our business to assist them, encourage them, and instruct them; and if you will give me leave, and God His blessing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant souls may be instructed; and that even while you stay here." Upon this, I said, "I shall not only give you leave, but give you a thousand thanks for it."

I now pressed him for the third article in which we were to blame. "Why, really," says he, "'tis of the same nature, and I will proceed with the same plainness as before. It is about your poor savages, who are (as I may say) your conquered subjects. It is a maxim, sir, that is, or ought to be, received among all Christians, that the Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all possible occasions. It is on this principle that the church sends missionaries into Persia, India, and China; and that our clergy, even of the superior sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous voyages, and the most dangerous residence among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith. Now, sir, you have such an opportunity here to have six or seven-and-thirty poor savages brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of God, that I wonder how you can pass over such an occasion of doing good, which is really worth the expence of a man's whole life."

I was now struck dumb indeed, and had not one word to say. I had here a spirit of true Christian zeal for God and religion before me; but as for me, I had not so much as entertained a thought of this in my heart before, and, I

believe, should not have thought of it; for I looked upon these savages as slaves, and people who, had we any work for them to do, we would have used as such, or would have been glad to have transported them to any other part of the world; for our object was to get rid of them, and we would all have been satisfied if they had been sent to any country, so they had never seen their own. I say, I was confounded at his discourse, and knew not what answer to make him. He looked earnestly at me, seeing me in some confusion. "Sir," said he, "I shall be very sorry if what I have said gives you any offence." "No, no," said I, "I am offended with nobody but myself; but I am confounded, not only to think that I should never have paid attention to this before, but with reflecting how little I am able to attend to it now. You know, sir, what circumstances I am in. I am bound to the East Indies, in a ship freighted by merchants, and to whom it would be an injustice to detain their ship here, the men lying all this while at victuals and wages at the owner's charge; so that I am perfectly unable to engage in this work, unless I should allow myself to be left behind here again."

He owned the case was very hard as to my voyage; but pressed upon my conscience, whether the blessing of saving seven and thirty souls was not worth my venturing all I had in the world for? I was not so sensible of that as he was, and replied to him thus: "Why, sir, it is a valuable thing indeed to be an instrument in GOD's hand to convert seven and thirty heathens to the knowledge of CHRIST: but as you are an ecclesiastic, and are given over to the work, so that it seems naturally to fall into the way of your profession, how is it that you do not rather offer yourself to undertake it than press me to it?"

Upon this he faced about, just before me, as we walked along, and putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow. "I most heartily thank GOD and you, sir," said he, "for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work; and if you think yourself discharged from it, and desire me to undertake it, I will most readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of such a broken, disappointed voyage as I have met with, that I may at last meet with so glorious a work."

I discovered a kind of rapture in his face while he spoke this to me; his eyes sparkled like fire, his face glowed, and

his colour came and went, as if he had been falling into fits. I paused a considerable while before I could tell what to say to him; for I was really surprised to find a man of such sincerity and zeal, and carried out in his zeal beyond the ordinary run of men, not of his profession only, but even of any profession whatsoever. But, after a while, I asked him seriously if he was in earnest, and would venture, on the single consideration of an attempt on those poor people, to be left in this island for, perhaps, his whole life; and, at last, might not know whether he should be able to do them any good or not?

He turned round upon me, and asked me what I called a venture? "Pray, sir," said he, "what do you think I consented to go in your ship to the East Indies for?" "Nay," said I, "that I know not, unless it was to preach to the Indians." "Doubtless it was," said he. "And do you think, if I can convert these seven and thirty men to the faith of CHRIST, it is not worth my time, though I should never leave the island again? Nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to save so many souls than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the same profession? But since you will honour me," continued he, "with putting me into this work (for which I will pray for you all the days of my life), I have one humble petition to you besides." "What is that?" said I. "Why," said he, "it is, that you will leave your man Friday with me to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me; for, without some help, I cannot speak to them, or they to me."

I was sensibly troubled at his requesting Friday, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons. He had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but sincerely affectionate to the last degree; and I had resolved to do something considerable for him if he outlived me, as it was probable he would. However, a sudden thought relieved me in this strait, and it was this: I told him that I could not say that I was willing to part with Friday on any account whatever, though a work that to him was of more value than his life ought to be to me of much more value than the keeping or parting with a servant. And, on the other hand, I was persuaded that Friday would by no means consent to part with me, neither could I force him to it against his consent, without manifest injustice, because I had promised I would never send him away;

and he had promised and engaged to me that he would never leave me, unless I put him away.

He seemed very much concerned at this; for he had no means of instructing these poor people, seeing he did not understand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him Friday's father had learned Spanish, which I found he also understood, and he should serve him for an interpreter. Upon hearing this the good priest expressed his satisfaction at the proposal.

When we came to the Englishmen, I sent for them all together, and after some account of what I had done for them, what things I had provided for them, and how they were distributed, which they were very thankful for,—I began to talk to them of the life they led, and gave them a full account of the notice the priest had taken of it.

They all gave me the answer that I expected, namely, that there was nobody to marry them; but that they had solemnly agreed before the governor to keep these women as their wives; and if there was a clergyman in the ship, they would most willingly be married now.

This was just as I would have it; the priest was not with me at that moment, but was not far off. I told them that my friend the minister was a Frenchman, and could not speak English; but that I would act the clerk between them. So we parted, and I went back to my clergyman.

Before I went from their quarter they all came to me, and told me they had been considering what I had said; that they were very glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company; and they were very willing to give me the satisfaction I desired, and to be formally married as soon as I pleased. So I appointed them to meet me the next morning, and directed that, in the mean time, they should let their wives know about it. The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it, as, indeed, they had reason to be. So they failed not to attend all together at my apartment the next morning, when I brought out my clergyman; and though he had not on the habit of a priest, yet having a black vest, something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike one.

When he came to them, he let them know that I had acquainted him with their circumstances, and with the present design; that he was very willing to perform that part of his

function, and marry them, as I had desired. But that there was a difficulty in it, with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, namely, that of marrying one that is a professed Christian, one that is not baptised; and he could have no hand in joining Christians with savages, nor was it consistent with the principles of the Christian religion.

They heard all this very attentively, for I delivered it very faithfully to them, from his mouth, as near his own words as I could, only sometimes adding something of my own to convince them how just it was, and how I was of his mind; but I always very carefully distinguished between his words and what were my own. They told me it was very true what the gentleman had said, that they were but very indifferent Christians themselves, and that they had never talked to their wives about religion, but that they were all very willing to be instructed. "Sir," said Will Atkins, "how should we teach them religion? Should we go to talk with them of GOD and JESUS CHRIST, and heaven and hell, it would be to make them laugh at us, and ask us what we believe ourselves. And if we should tell them we believe all the things that we speak of to them, such as of good people going to heaven and wicked people to the devil, they would ask us where we intend to go ourselves that believe all this, and yet are such wicked fellows as we indeed are."

"Why truly, Atkins," said I, "I am afraid you speak too much truth;" and with that I told the priest what Atkins had said; for he was impatient to know. "Oh!" said the priest, "there is one thing will make him the best minister in the world to his wife, and that is repentance; for none teach repentance like true penitents. He wants nothing but to repent, and then he will be much the better qualified to instruct his wife; he will be then able to tell her, that there is not only a GOD, and that He is the just rewarder of good and evil, but that He is a merciful Being, and, with infinite goodness and long-suffering, forbears to punish those that offend; that oftentimes He suffers wicked men to go on for a long time, and even reserves damnation to the general day of retribution; that it is a clear evidence of GOD, and of a future state, that righteous men receive not their reward, or wicked men their punishment, till they come into another world; and this will lead him to teach his wife the doctrine of the resurrection, and of the last judgment. Let him, I say, but repent

for himself, he will be an excellent preacher of repentance to his wife. If you will give me leave, sir, I will do my best in this matter, and hope by GOD's blessing to succeed. It is true we that are CHRIST's servants, can go no farther than to exhort and instruct; and when men comply, submit to the reproof, and promise what we ask, 'tis all we can do; we are bound to accept their good words: but believe me, sir, whatever you may know of the life of that man you call Will Atkins, I believe he is already struck with a just sense of his past life, and that he will prove a sincere convert."

As the priest had foretold so it turned out. Nor did it end here, for Atkins by his example so disposed the heart of the poor woman his wife, that she too was ready to receive with great readiness the instructions of the priest; and he said that if I would discourse with her, he made no doubt but that she would make it appear that my labour would not be lost upon her. Accordingly I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter between my religious priest and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her; and sure a better sermon was never preached in these later ages of the world. In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by Him, not with wonder and astonishment only, but with joy and faith, with an affection, and a surprising degree of understanding, scarcely to be imagined, much less to be expressed; and at her own request she was baptised.

As soon as this was over, we married them; and after the marriage was over, the priest turned himself to Will Atkins, and in a very affectionate manner exhorted him not only to persevere in that good disposition he was in, but to support the convictions that were upon him, by a resolution to reform his life: told him, it was in vain to say he repented, if he did not forsake his crimes; that he should be careful not to dishonour the grace of GOD; and that if he did, he would soon see the heathen a better Christian than himself.

He said a great many good things to them both, and then recommending them, in a few words, to GOD's goodness, gave them the benediction, I repeating every thing to them in English. And thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the most pleasant, agreeable day to me that ever I passed in my whole life.

In a few days after the other men were married in a like manner,

Having thus brought the affairs of the island to a narrow compass, I was preparing to go on board the ship, when the young man that I had taken out of the famished ship's company came to me, and told me, he understood I had a clergyman with me, and that I had caused the Englishmen to be married; that he had a match too, which he desired might be finished before I went, between two Christians, which he hoped would not be disagreeable to me or to the priest.

I knew this must be the young woman who was his mother's servant, for there was no other Christian woman on the island; so I began to persuade him not to do any thing of that kind rashly, or because he found himself in these solitary circumstances. I represented to him, that he had some considerable substance in the world, and good friends, as I understood from himself and from his maid also; that the maid was not only poor, but a servant; that he might very probably, with my assistance, remove from this wilderness, and get to his own country again, and that then it would be a thousand to one but he would repent his choice; a circumstance that might be disadvantageous to both. I was going to say more, but he interrupted me, smiling, and told me, with a great deal of modesty, that I mistook in my guesses; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts, his present circumstances being melancholy and disconsolate enough; that he had nothing to desire of me but that I would settle him in some little property in the island where he was; give him a servant or two, and some few necessaries, and he would settle himself like a planter, waiting the good time when, if ever I returned to England, I would redeem him; that he would give me some letters to his friends in London, to let them know how good I had been to him, and in what part of the world, and what circumstances I had left him in; that whenever I redeemed him, the plantation, and all the improvements he had made upon it, let the value be what it would, should be wholly mine.

His discourse was very prettily delivered, and was the more agreeable to me, because he told me positively the match was not for himself. I gave him all possible assurances, that if I lived to come safe to England, I would deliver his letters; and that he might depend I would never forget the circumstances I left him in. But still I was im-



patient to know who was the person to be married; upon which, he told me it was my Jack-of-all-trades and his maid Susan.

I was most agreeably surprised when he named the match; for, indeed, I thought it very suitable. The character of that man I have given already; and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious young woman; had a very good share of sense; was agreeable enough in her person; spoke very handsomely, and to the purpose; was very handy and neat in everything she did; an excellent manager, and fit indeed to have been governess to the whole island; for she knew very well how to behave to all kinds of folk she had about her, and to better ones too, if she had found any there.

The match being proposed in this manner, we married them the same day; and, as I was father at the altar, as I may say, and gave her away, so I gave her a portion; for I appointed her and her husband a handsome large space of ground for their plantation. And indeed this match, and the proposal the young gentleman made, to give him a small property in the island, put me upon parcelling it out amongst them, that they might not quarrel afterwards about their situation.

This sharing out the land to them I left to Will Atkins, who, indeed, was now grown a most sober, grave, managing fellow, and he divided things so justly, and so much to every one's satisfaction, that they only desired one general writing under my hand for the whole. This I caused to be drawn up, and signed and sealed to them, setting out the bounds and situation of every man's plantation, and testifying that I gave them thereby, severally, a right to the whole possession and the inheritance of the respective plantations or farms, with their improvements, to them and their heirs; reserving all the rest of the island as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation, after eleven years, if I, or any one from me, or in my name, came to demand it, producing an attested copy of the same writing.

As to the government and laws among them, I told them I was not capable of giving them better rules than they were able to give themselves. I only made them promise me to live in love and good fellowship with one another; and so I prepared to leave them.

One thing I must not omit ; and this is, that being now settled in a kind of commonwealth among themselves, and having much business in hand, it was odd to have seven-and-thirty Indians live in a nook of the island, independent, and, indeed, unemployed ; for, excepting the providing themselves food, in which they had difficulty enough too sometimes, they had no manner of business or property to manage. I proposed therefore to the governor Spaniard that he should go to them with Friday's father, and propose to them to remove, and either plant for themselves or be taken into their several families as servants, to be maintained for their labour, but without being absolute slaves. They most willingly embraced the proposal, and came all very cheerfully along with him ; so we allotted them land and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the rest chose to be employed as servants.

And thus my colony was settled as follows : the Spaniards possessed my original habitation, which was the capital city, and extended their plantations all along the side of the creek that I have so often described, as far as my bower ; the English lived in the north-east part, where Will Atkins and his comrades began, and came on southward and south-west towards the back part of the Spaniards ; and each plantation had plenty of land to take in, if they found occasion, so that they need not jostle one another for want of room. All the east end of the island was left uninhabited, so that if any of the savages should come on shore there, for their usual customary barbarities, they might come and go ; if they disturbed nobody, nobody would disturb them.

## CHAPTER XI.



I HAVE now done with the island. I left them all in good circumstances and in a flourishing condition, and went on board my ship again, having been five-and-twenty days among them. I promised, moreover, to send some further relief from the Brazils, if I could find an opportunity, particularly some cattle, such as sheep, hogs, and cows; for as to the two cows and calves which I brought from England, we had been obliged, by the length of our voyage, to kill them at sea.

The next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the Bay of All Saints, in the Brazils, in about twenty-two days; meeting nothing remarkable in our passage but this—that about three days after we sailed, being becalmed, and the current setting strong to the E.N.E., running as it were into a bay or gulf, on the land-side, we were driven something out of our course; and once or twice our men cried land, to the eastward; but whether it was the continent, or islands, we could not tell.

But the third day, towards evening, the sea being smooth and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were, covered, towards the land, with something very black, but could not discover what it was; till, after some time, our chief mate going up the main shrouds a little way, and looking at them with a glass, cried out it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and spoke a little hastily, calling the fellow a fool, or some such word. “Nay, sir,” said he,

"do not be angry; for it is an army and a fleet too; I believe there are a thousand canoes, and you may see them paddle along, and they are coming towards us too, apace."

I was a little surprised then, indeed, and so was my nephew the captain; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, that he could not tell what to think of it, but said two or three times, we should all be devoured. I must confess, considering we were becalmed, and the current set very strong towards the shore, I was somewhat alarmed: however, I bade him not be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor, as soon as we came so near as to know that we must engage them.

In a little while they came up with us; but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians. My mate, however, was mistaken in his calculation of their number, I mean of a thousand canoes; the most we could make of them when they came up, being about a hundred and twenty; some of them had sixteen or seventeen men in them, and some more, and the least six or seven.

When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a sight which they had, doubtless, never seen before; nor could they, at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up however, very near to us, and seemed to design to row round us; but we called to our men in the boats not to let them come too near them.

This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our intending; for five or six of their large canoes came so near our long-boat, that our men beckoned with their hands to them to keep back; which they understood very well, and went back, but at their retreat about fifty arrows came on board us from those boats, by which one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded.

However, I called to them not to fire by any means; but we handed down some deal boards into the boat, and the carpenter presently set up a kind of fence to cover the men from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half an hour afterwards they came all up in a body astern of us; so near that we could easily discern what they were, though we could not tell their design, I soon found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with; and in a little time

more they rowed a little farther out to sea, till they came directly broadside with us, and then rowed down straight upon us, till they came so near that they could hear us speak. Upon this, Friday immediately cried out, they were going to shoot; and unhappily for him (poor fellow!) they let fly about 300 of their arrows; and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him: such unhappy marksmen they were.

I was so enraged at the loss of my old servant, the companion of all my sorrows and solitudes, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great; and gave them such a broadside as they had never heard of in their lives before. They were not above half a cable's length off when we fired; and our gunners took their aim so well, that three or four of their canoes were overset, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

I can neither tell how many we killed, or how many we wounded, at this broadside; but such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude. There were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split and overset in all, and the men all set a swimming. The rest, frightened out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot; so I suppose that there were many of them lost; and our men took up one poor fellow swimming for his life, a full hour after they were all gone.

The same evening we weighed and set sail again; but I was the most disconsolate creature alive, for want of my man Friday, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island, to have taken one of the rest from thence to fill his place, but it could not be; so we went on.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him. Poor honest Friday! We buried him with all the decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and committing him to the sea; and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him: and so ended the career of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and affectionate servant that ever man had.

We went now away with a fair wind for Brazil, and in about twelve days' time we made land in the latitude of five

degrees south of the line, being the north-easternmost land of all that part of America. We kept on s. by e. in sight of the shore four days, when we made the Cape S. Augustine; and in three days came to an anchor off the Bay of All Saints, the old place of my deliverance.

From the Brazils, we made directly away over the Atlantic sea to the Cape of Good Hope; and had a tolerably good voyage; our course generally south-east; now and then a storm, and some contrary winds.

I shall not burden my account, or the reader, with descriptions of places, journals of our voyage, variations of the compass, latitudes, situations of ports, and the like: it is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at, and what occurred to us upon our passing from one to another. We touched first at the island of Madagascar, where, though the people are fierce and treacherous, and well armed with lances and bows, which they use with inconceivable dexterity, yet we fared very well with them a while; and for some trifles which we gave them, such as knives, scissors, &c., they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, which we took in, partly for fresh provisions for our present eating, and the rest to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here some time, after we had furnished ourselves with provisions, and I was for going on shore as often as I could. It was on the east side of the island that we went on shore one evening; and the people, who, by the way, were very numerous, came thronging about us, and stood gazing at us from a distance; but as we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly used, we thought ourselves in no danger: however, when we saw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree, and stuck them at a distance from us, which, it seems, is a mark in the country of truce and friendship, and when it is accepted, the other side sets up three poles or boughs, which is a signal that they accept the truce too; but then this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to pass beyond their three poles towards them, nor they come past your three poles or boughs towards you; so that you are perfectly secure within the three poles; and all the space between your three poles and theirs is allowed like a market, for free converse, traffic, and commerce. When you go there, you must not carry your weapons with you, and if they come into

that space, they stick up their javelins and lances all at the first poles, and come on unarmed; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles, and lay hold of their weapons, and then the truce is at an end.

It happened one evening, when we went on shore, that a greater number of their people came down than usual; but all was very friendly and civil; and they brought in several kinds of provisions, for which we paid them with such toys as we had: their women also brought us milk and roots, and several things very acceptable to us; and we made us a little tent, or hut, of some boughs of trees, and stayed on shore all night.

I know not what was the occasion, but I was not so well satisfied to remain on shore as the rest; and the boat riding at anchor about a stone-cast from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made one of them come on shore, and getting some boughs of trees to cover us, I spread the sail on the bottom of the boat, and lay under the cover of the branches all night.

About two o'clock in the morning we heard one of our men make a terrible noise on shore, calling out to us to come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered. Rousing up with the noise, I caused the boat to be put into shore, and resolved to land and assist our men. We soon got to the shore; and our men plunged into the water, to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by about four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all. We took up seven of them, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being wounded; and what was still worse, while we stood to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were: for they poured their arrows in upon us so thick, that we were glad to barricade the side of the boat with the benches and two or three loose boards. We had, by the light of the moon, a little sight of them as they stood pelting us with darts and arrows, and having got ready our fire-arms, we gave them a volley, and we could hear by their cries that we had wounded several.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh anchor, or set up our sail, for to do this we must needs stand up in the boat, and they were as sure to hit us, as we were to hit a bird in a tree with small shot. So we made signals of

distress to the ship, and though a league off, yet the captain heard our firing, and as we fired towards the shore, he pretty well understood us; and, weighing anchor with all speed, he stood as near the shore as he durst with the ship, and then sent another boat, with ten hands in her, to assist us. When they got near to us, one of the men, taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, so that they could not see him, swam on board us, and made the line fast to the boat; upon which we slipped our cable, and leaving our anchor behind, we were towed out of the reach of the arrows.

When we had got on board and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray; and, indeed, our supercargo, who had been often in those parts, gave me a hint of it, for he said he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us after we had made a truce, if we had not done something to provoke them to it. At length it came out; namely, that an old woman, who had come to sell us some milk, had brought it within our poles, accompanied by a young woman, who also brought some roots or herbs; and while the old woman (whether she was mother to the young woman or not, they could not tell) was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the girl that was with her; at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman pulled the young girl away, and carried her out of the old woman's sight, it being almost dark; on which the old woman went away without her, and, as we suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from, who immediately set this great army upon us; and it was a wonder we had not all been destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance thrown at him at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent; the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of the mischief, who paid dear enough for his bad behaviour, for we could not hear what became of him for a long while. We lay off the shore two days after, though the wind favoured, and made signals for him; made our boat sail up shore and down shore several leagues, but in vain; so we were obliged to give him over: and if he alone had suffered for it, the loss had been the less.

I could not satisfy myself, however, without venturing on shore once more, to try if I could learn any thing farther. I



was careful to do it in the dark, lest we should be attacked again; but I ought indeed to have been sure that the men I went with were properly under my command, before I engaged in a thing so hazardous and mischievous as I was brought into, without my knowledge or desire.

We took twenty stout fellows with us, besides the supercargo and myself; and we landed two hours before midnight, at the same place where the Indians stood drawn up the evening before. I landed here, because I thought if we could surprise one or two of them, we might get our man again by way of exchange. We landed without noise, and divided our men into two companies, of which the boatswain commanded one, and I the other. At first we could see nothing, it being very dark; but by-and-by our boatswain, who led the first party, stumbled and fell over a dead body. This made them wait till I came up. Here we concluded to halt till the moon rose; and then we could discern the havoc we had made among them. We counted two-and-thirty bodies upon the ground, of which two were not quite dead. When we had made this discovery, I was for going on board; but the boatswain and his party sent me word that they were resolved to make a visit to the Indian town, where these dogs, as they called them, dwelt, and asked me to go along with them, as they did not doubt getting a good booty, and it might be they might find Tom Jeffrys there—the man we had lost. I positively declined to do so, and rose up to go to the boat. One or two of the men then began to importune me, and when I again refused began to grumble, and say they were not under my command, and they would go. "Come, Jack," said one of the men, "will you go with me? I will go for one." Jack said he would; and another followed, and then another; and, in short, they all left me but one: so the supercargo and I, with the third man, went back to the boat, where we told them we would stay for them, and take in as many of them as should be left; for I told them it was a mad thing they were going about, and I expected most of them would share the fate of Jeffrys. They told me like seamen, they would warrant it they would come off safe. So away they went. They were gallantly armed, it is true; and bolder fellows, and better provided, never went about any wicked work in the world. Their chief design was plunder, and they were in great hopes of finding gold there; but a circumstance,

which none of them were aware of, set them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all.

They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree: this they presently concluded would be a good guide to them; for the cow certainly belonged to the town, and if they untied her they should see which way she went, and have nothing to do but to follow her; so they cut the cord, and the cow went on before them, and led them directly to the town, which, as they reported, consisted of above two hundred houses or huts. Here they found all in silence, as profoundly secure as sleep and a country that had never seen an enemy of that kind could make them. They desperately resolved that they would venture upon them; but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them, that were a little before the rest, called out aloud, and told them they had found Tom Jeffrys. They all ran up to the place; and there they found the poor fellow, hung up by one arm, and quite dead. There was an Indian house just by the tree, where they found sixteen or seventeen of the Indians awake, and talking one to another. The sight of their poor comrade so enraged them, that they swore they would be revenged, and that not an Indian who came into their hands should have quarter; and to work they went immediately. They presently made some wild-fire, by wetting powder in the palms of their hands; and in a quarter of an hour they set the town on fire in four or five places, and particularly that house where the Indians had not gone to bed. As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frightened creatures rushed out to save their lives; but they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his pole-axe. The house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for a hand-grenade, and threw it among them, which, when it burst, made such havoc, that they cried out in a most hideous manner. In short, most of the Indians who were in the open part of the house were killed or hurt with the grenade, except two or three, who pressed to the door, and were despatched by the boatswain and two more. There was another apartment in the house, where the prince, or whatever he was, and several others, were; and these they kept in till the house fell in upon them, and they were all burnt together. All this while they fired not a gun, because they would not waken the people faster than they could

master them ; but the fire began to waken them soon enough, and as fast as it either forced the people out of those houses which were burning, or frightened them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them down, still calling and hallooing to one another to remember Tom Jeffrys.

While this was doing I must confess I was very anxious, and especially when I saw the flames of the town, which, it being night, seemed to be close by. My nephew the captain, seeing such a fire, was very uneasy, not knowing what the matter was. A thousand thoughts oppressed his mind concerning me and the supercargo ; and though he could ill spare any more men, yet he took another boat, and with thirteen men came on shore. He was surprised to see me and the supercargo in the boat with no more than two men ; and though he was glad that we were well, yet he was equally impatient with us to know what was doing. He told me he would go and assist his men, let what would come ; for he could not think of having his men lost for want of help ; he had rather lose the ship, the voyage, and his life, and all ; so away he went. . I was no more able to stay behind now than I was to persuade them not to go before : so the captain ordered two men to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more, leaving only sixteen men in the ship. Being now on the march, you may be sure we felt little of the ground we trod on, and being guided by the fire, we went directly to the place. If the noise of the guns surprised us before, the cries of the poor people now filled us with horror. However, we went on, and at length came to the town, though there was no entering the streets of it for the fire. The first object we met with was the ruins of a hut, and just before it lay four men and three women killed. In short, there were such instances of a rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury something beyond what was human, that we thought it impossible our men could be guilty of it ; or if they were, we thought that every one of them ought to be put to the worst of deaths. We advanced a little way farther, and beheld three women flying as if they had wings, crying in a most dreadful manner, and after them sixteen or seventeen men, natives, in the same terror and consternation, with three of our English butchers, for I can call them no better, in their rear, who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them ;

and when the rest saw us in front, believing that we would murder them as well as those that pursued them, they set up a most dreadful shriek, especially the women, and two of them fell down as if already dead with the fright. My very soul shrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins, when I saw this; and I believe, had the three English sailors that pursued them come on, I had made our men kill them. However, we let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them; whereupon they crept in close behind us for protection. I left my men drawn up, and charged them to hurt nobody, but if possible to get at some of our people, and see what it was that possessed them, and what they intended to do. I left them and went among those flying people, taking only two of our men with me; and there was indeed a piteous spectacle among them! I would fain have learnt what the occasion of all this was, but I could not understand one word they said, though by signs I perceived that some of them knew not what it was themselves. I was so terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not stay there, but resolved to go into the middle of the town and put an end to it, cost what it would: accordingly, as soon as I came back to my party, I told them my resolution, and commanded them to follow me, when at the very moment, came four of our men, with the boatswain at their head, all covered with blood and dust, as if they wanted more people to massacre. As soon as he saw us he set up a halloo, like a shout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come; and without waiting to hear me, "Captain," said he, "noble captain, I am glad you are come. We have not half done yet: cursed dogs! I will kill as many of them as poor Tom had hairs upon his head! We have sworn to spare none of them; we will root out the very nation from the earth!" And thus he ran on, out of breath too with action, and would not give us leave to speak a word. At last, raising my voice, "Barbarous dog!" said I, "what are you doing? I won't have one more creature touched upon pain of death. I charge you upon your life to stop your hands, and stand still here, or you are a dead man this minute!" "Why, sir," says he, "do you know what they have done? If you want a reason for what we have done, come hither;" and with that he shewed me the poor fellow hanging dead. I had now a new task upon my hands; for when

the men who were with me saw the sight, I had as much ado to restrain them : nay, my nephew himself joined with them, and told me, in their hearing, that as the people had all glutted themselves with the murder of the poor man, they ought to be used like murderers. Upon these words away ran eight of my men with the boatswain and his crew to complete their bloody work ; and I, seeing it quite out of my power to restrain them, came away pensive and sad, for I could not bear the sight, much less the horrible noise and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their hands. I got nobody to come back with me but the supercargo and two men, and with these I walked back to the boats, and by the time I got to the sea-side it was broad day : immediately I took the pinnace and went aboard, and sent her back to assist the men in what might happen.

I observed that about the time I came to the boat-side the fire was pretty well out, and the noise abated ; but in about half an hour after I heard a volley of fire-arms, and saw a great smoke : this, as I understood afterwards, was our men falling upon forty natives, who stood, armed with lances and bows, to cut off their retreat to the shore, of whom they killed sixteen or seventeen, but did not meddle with their women or children. By the time the men got to the shore again with the pinnace our men began to appear : they came straggling here and there in such a manner that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off. But the dread of them was upon the whole people. I believe a hundred of them would have fled at the sight of five of our men ; nor in all this terrible action was there a man who made any considerable defence, so that they were everywhere knocked down with ease. Nor did any of our men receive the least hurt, except one who strained his foot, and another who had one of his hands burnt.

I was very angry with my nephew the captain, and indeed with all the men, but with him in particular, as well for his acting so out of his duty as commander of the ship, as in his prompting rather than cooling the rage of his men in so bloody and cruel an enterprise. My nephew answered me very respectfully, but told me that, when he saw the body of the poor seaman whom they had murdered in such a barbarous manner, he was not master of himself ; he owned he should not have done so, as he was commander of the ship,

but as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not help it. As for the rest of the men, they were not subject to me at all, and they knew it well enough, so they took no notice of my dislike. The next day we set sail, so we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they killed; but, according to the best accounts, they killed or destroyed about a hundred and fifty people, and left not a house standing in the town. As for the poor fellow, Jeffrys, as he was dead, it would do him no service to bring him away: so they took him down from the tree, and hastily buried him. However just our men thought this action, I was quite against them in it, and I told them God would blast the voyage, as I looked upon the blood they shed that night to be murder in them; for though it was true that they had killed Jeffrys, yet it was as true that Jeffrys was the aggressor, having broken the truce in meddling with the woman who had come to our camp on the faith of their capitulation.

We were now bound to the Gulf of Persia, and from thence to the coast of Coromandel, touching at Surat. The first disaster that befel us was in the Gulf of Persia, where five of our men venturing on shore on the Arabian side of the Gulf were surrounded by the Arabs, and either killed or carried away into slavery: the rest of the boat's crew not being able to rescue them, having indeed but just time to get off their boat. I began to upbraid them with the just retribution of Heaven in this case; but the boatswain very warmly told me that none of these five men who were now lost were of the number of those who went on shore to the massacre of Madagascar, and this put me to silence for the present. But my frequent preaching to them on this subject had worse consequences than I expected; for the boatswain came up boldly to me one day, and told me I used the men very ill on that account, and himself in particular; that as I had no command in the ship they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know but I might call them to an account for it when they came to England; and that, therefore, unless I would resolve to have done with it, and not concern myself with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ship, for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them. I heard him patiently enough, and then told him I was a considerable owner of the ship, and thus I conceived I had a right to speak even more than I had yet done, and that I

would not be accountable to him or any one else. He made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought the affair had been over. We were at this time in the roads at Bengal; and being desirous to see the place, I went on shore with the supercargo in the ship's boat, and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men told me he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board. Any one may guess my surprise at so insolent a message. I asked the man who bade him deliver it? He said, the boatswain. I bid him let them know he had delivered his message, and that I had given him no answer. I immediately found out the supercargo, and told him the story, adding that I foresaw there would be a mutiny in the ship, and entreated him to go on board, and acquaint the captain of it; but before I had spoken to him on shore the matter was effected on board: the boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, and all the inferior officers, as soon as I was gone off in the boat, came up to the quarter-deck, and desired to speak with the captain; and there the boatswain making a long harangue,—for the fellow talked very well,—told the captain that, as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loth to use any violence with me, which they would have done, to oblige me to go. They therefore thought fit to tell him, that as they shipped themselves to serve under his command, they would perform it faithfully: but if I would not quit, they would all leave the ship and sail no farther with him; and at that word "All" the fellow turned his face towards the main-mast, which was the signal agreed on between them, on which all the seamen together cried out "One and All! "One and All!" My nephew was a man of spirit, and of great presence of mind; and though he was surprised at the thing, yet he told them calmly he would consider of the matter, but that he could do nothing in it till he had spoken to me; he used some arguments with them, but it was all in vain; they shook hands round, before his face, that they would all go on shore unless he would engage not to suffer me to come on board the ship. This was a hard condition for him, who knew his obligations to me; so he began to talk in a high tone to them; told them that as I was a considerable owner of the ship he could not put me out of my own house, and so they might do as they pleased. However, he would go on shore, and talk with me,

and invited the boatswain to go with him, and arrange the matter with me. But they rejected the proposal: if I came on board, they would go on shore. "Well," said the captain, "if you are all of this mind, let me go on shore and talk with him:" so away he came to me with this account. I was very glad to see my nephew, for I was not without apprehensions that they would confine him by violence, set sail, and run away with the ship. But they had not come to that length, it seems; and when my nephew told me what they had said to him, I told him I would stay on shore; I only desired he would send me all my necessary things, and leave me a sufficient sum of money, and I would find my way to England as I could. This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew; but there was no help for it. So he satisfied the men that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, upon which the men returned to their duty, and I began to consider what course I should steer.

I was now alone in the remotest part of the world, for I was by sea near three thousand leagues farther off from England than I was at my island. I had no other way before me but to wait for some English ships coming to Bengal from Sumatra, and so get passage for England. Here I had the particular pleasure, speaking by contraries, to see the ship set sail without me; a treatment, I think, a man scarce ever met with, except from pirates running away with a ship, and setting those that would not agree with their villany on shore. However, my nephew left me two companions: the first was clerk to the purser, whom he engaged to stay with me, and the other was his own servant. I took a good lodging in the house of an Englishwoman, where I was handsomely enough entertained, and I stayed here nine months considering what course to take. I had some English goods with me, and a considerable sum of money. I disposed of my goods, and to advantage, and bought some diamonds, which, of all other things, was the most proper for me, because I might always carry my whole estate about me.

After a long stay, an English merchant, who lodged with me, came to me one morning: "Countryman," said he, "I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it suits with my designs, may suit with yours, when you shall have considered it. Here we are placed in a part of the world very remote from our own country; but it is in a country where a



great deal of money is to be made: if you will put a thousand pounds to my thousand pounds, we will hire a ship, the first we can get to our mind; you shall be captain, I will be merchant, and we will go a trading voyage to China." I liked his proposal, and the more because it seemed to be expressed in so friendly a manner. It was, however, some time before we could get a ship to our mind; and when we did, it was not easy to get English sailors. However, at last we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner, English; a Dutch carpenter, and three Portuguese foremast-men; and with these we found we could do well enough, having Indian seamen, such as they are, to make up.

It would be but very little diversion to anybody to give a long account of the places we went to. It is enough for me to say that we made a voyage to Achin in Sumatra, first; and from thence to Siam; thence up to Shushan: in a word, we made a very long voyage; were eight months out, and returned to Bengal well satisfied with the adventure. Indeed, had I been twenty years younger, I should have been tempted to have stayed here, and sought no farther for making my fortune. But what was all this to a man on the wrong side of threescore, travelling about more in obedience to a restless desire of seeing the world, than a covetous desire of getting anything in it? My eye, like that which Solomon speaks of, was never satisfied with seeing, and was still more desirous of wandering and seeing. I was come into a part of the world which I never was in before, and was resolved to see as much of it as I could; and then I thought I might say I had seen all the world that was worth seeing. But my fellow-traveller had different notions. He was content to go, like a carrier's horse, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it: on the other hand, my disposition, old as I was, was that of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to see a thing twice over. In the interval of these cogitations, my friend proposed a voyage to me among the Spice Islands. We were not long in preparing for this voyage; the chief difficulty was in bringing me to agree to it: however, at last, finding that stirring about was more pleasant than sitting still, I resolved on this voyage too, which we made very successfully, touching at Borneo, and returning home in about five months. My friend, when we made up the accounts, smiled at me: "Well,

now," said he, "is not this better than walking about here, and spending all our time in staring about us?" "Why truly," said I, "my friend, I think it is. But I must tell you, by the way, if once I conquer my backwardness, and embark heartily, old as I am, I shall drag you up and down the world till I tire you; for I shall be so eager about it, that I shall never let you be still."

A little while after this there came in a Dutch ship from Batavia, of about two hundred tons burden: the captain, having got money enough, gave public notice that he would sell his ship, and I had a great mind to buy it. So I went to my partner, and told him of it: but musing some time, he replied, "She is a little too big; but, however, we will have her." Accordingly we bought the ship, and took possession, resolving to keep the men, if we could, to join them with those we had, for pursuing our business; but on a sudden, they having received, not their wages, but their share of the sale-money, as we afterwards learnt, not one of them was to be found. We inquired about them, and were told that they were all gone by land to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's residence, and from thence were to travel to Surat, and so by sea to the Gulf of Persia. Nothing so troubled me a good while as that I missed the opportunity of going with them; but I was much better satisfied a few days after, when I came to know what sort of fellows they were: for their history was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only; that they had been on a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on shore by some of the Malayans, who had killed the captain and three of his men; and these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, and had brought her into the Bay of Bengal, leaving the mate and five men more on shore, of whom we shall hear further.

We picked up some English seamen here after this, and some Dutch; and now we resolved for a second voyage to the south-east; but, in short, not to fill this part of my story with trifles, when what is yet to come is so remarkable, I spent six years in this country trading from port to port, and with very good success. In one of our voyages, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the straits of Malacca, we had no sooner got clear of those difficult seas, than we found our ship had sprung a leak, and

we were not able with all our endeavours to find out where it was. This forced us to make for the river of Cambodia. While we were here, there came to me one day an Englishman: "Sir," said he, "you are a stranger to me, and I to you; but I have something to tell you, that very nearly concerns you." "If it very nearly concerns me," said I, "and not yourself, what moves you to tell it me?" "I am moved," says he, "by the imminent danger you are in; and, for aught I see, you have no knowledge of it. Do you know, sir," said he, "the town of Cambodia lies about fifteen leagues up this river? And there are two large English ships about five leagues on this side, and three Dutch." "Well," said I, "and what is that to me?" "Why, sir," said he, "is it for a man that is upon such adventures as you are, to come into a port, and not examine first what ships there are there, and whether he is able to deal with them? I suppose you don't think you are a match for them?" I could not conceive what he meant, and I turned round upon him, and said, "Sir, I wish you would explain yourself; I cannot imagine what reason I have to be afraid of any of the Company's ships, or Dutch ships; what can they have to say to me?" Pausing awhile, but smiling; "Well, sir," said he, "if you think yourself secure, you must take your chance; I am sorry your fate should blind you against good advice; but assure yourself you will the very next tide be attacked by five long-boats full of men; and perhaps, if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined into afterwards. I can tell you but part of the story, sir," continued he; "but the short of it is this, that you were with this ship at Sumatra; that there your captain was murdered by the Malayans, with three of his men; and that you ran away with the ship, and are since turned pirate. This is the sum of the story, and you will all be seized as pirates, I can assure you, and executed with very little ceremony." "Now you speak plain English," said I, "and I thank you; and though I know that we have done nothing like what you talk of, but am sure we came honestly and fairly by the ship, yet seeing such work is on foot as you say, and that you seem to mean honestly, I will be upon my guard." "Nay, sir," says he, "do not talk of being upon your guard; the best defence is to be out of the danger: if you have any regard to your life, and the lives of all your men, put out to sea without fail at

high water." "Well," said I, "you have been very kind in this: what shall I do for you to make you amends?" He proposed that I should engage him and a Dutchman, his companion, to serve under me. This I consented to readily; and went immediately on board, the two men with me. As soon as I came to the ship's side, my partner called to me with a great deal of joy, "O ho! O ho! we have stopped the leak!" "Say you so?" said I;" "weigh the anchor then immediately." "Weigh!" said he; "what do you mean by that?" "Ask no questions," said I, "but weigh without losing a minute." He was surprised at this; however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and a little land-breeze blowing, we stood out to sea. Then I told him the story at large, and we called in the men, and they told us the rest of it: but before we had done, a seaman came to the cabin-door, and called out that we were chased. "Chased!" said I, "by whom, and by what?" "By five boats," said the fellow, "full of men." "Very well," said I; "then it is apparent there is something in this story."

I ordered all our men to be called up, and told them that there was a design to take us for pirates, and asked them, if they would stand by us? The men answered cheerfully, one and all, that they would live and die with us. Then I asked the captain what way he thought best for us to manage a fight with them; for resist them I was resolved we should, and that to the last drop. He said, readily, that the way was to keep them off with our great shot as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our small arms, to keep them from boarding us. The gunner had orders to bring two guns to bear fore and aft, and thus we made ready for fight; but all this while we kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see the boats at a distance, with all the sail they could make. Two of these boats, which we could see were English, were before the rest, and gained upon us considerably; upon which we fired a gun without ball, to intimate that they should bring to, and we put out a flag of truce, as a signal for parley; but they kept crowding after us till they came within shot; so we called to them, and bade them keep off at their peril. It was in vain: they endeavoured to come under our stern to board us on our quarter; upon which, seeing they were determined upon mischief, I ordered the

ship to be brought to, so that they lay on our broadside, when immediately we fired five guns at them, one of which had been levelled so true as to carry away the stern of the hindermost boat, and make her useless; but seeing the foremost boat still crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her likewise. We called again to the men, and offered to parley, but had no answer, only she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our gunner run out his two chase-guns and fired at her, but the shot missing, the men in the boat shouted, waved their caps, and came on; on this the gunner fired among them a second time, and one shot fell among the men, which we could easily see had done a great deal of mischief; and, firing three guns more, we found the boat was almost split to pieces, her rudder and part of her stern being shot quite away. To complete their misfortune, our gunner let fly at them again; where he hit them, we could not tell, but we perceived the boat was sinking, and some of the men already in the water. Upon this I immediately manned our pinnace, with orders to pick up the men, if they could, and come on board with them. Our men followed their orders, and took up three men; and as soon as they were on board, we crowded all sail and stood farther out to sea, and found that when the three boats came up to the first two they gave over their chase. Being thus delivered from a danger which seemed much greater than I apprehended, I took care not to let any one know whither we were going: so we stood out to sea, quite out of the course of all European ships.

When we were at sea, we began to consult with the two seamen what the meaning of all this should be. The Dutchman let us into the secret at once, telling us that the fellow that sold us the ship was no more than a thief that had run away with her. Then he told us how the captain was treacherously murdered by the natives on the coast of Malacca, with three of his men; and that he, this Dutchman, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while, till at length he made his escape and swam off to a Dutch ship. He then told us that he went to Batavia, where two of the seamen belonging to the ship had arrived, having deserted the rest, and gave an account that the fellow who had run away with the ship sold her at Bengal to a set of pirates, which were gone a cruizing in her. This latter part we found to concern us directly; and though we knew it to

be false, yet, as my partner said very well, if we had fallen into their power, and they had had such a notion of us beforehand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourselves, or to hope for any quarter at their hands; and therefore it was his opinion we should go back to Bengal, because there we could prove whom we bought her of, and the like; and if put to the necessity of bringing it before the proper judges, we should have justice, and not be hanged first and judged afterwards. I was sometime of my partner's opinion; but after a little more serious thought, I told him I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to Bengal; that we should be waylaid on every side; that if we should be taken, as it were, running away, we should even condemn ourselves, and there would want no more evidence to ruin us. I also asked the English sailor's opinion, who said he was of my mind. This danger startled my partner and the ship's company; and we immediately resolved to go away to Tonquin, and so on to China, and find some way to dispose of the ship, and come back in some of the vessels of the country, such as we could get. This was approved of as the best plan for our security; and so we steered away N.N.E., keeping above fifty leagues off from the usual course to the eastward.

I must confess I was now very uneasy, and thought myself in the most dangerous condition that ever I was in through all my past life; for though I was perfectly innocent, I was in no condition to make that innocence appear. My partner, seeing me thus dejected, began to encourage me; and describing to me the several ports of that coast, told me he would put in on the coast of Cochin China. Thither then we resolved to go. Accordingly we came within sight of the coast early in the morning; and, upon reflection, we resolved to put into a small river, to see if we could find out what ships were in any ports thereabouts. This happy step was, indeed, our deliverance: for the next morning there came into the bay two Dutch ships; and a third, which we believed to be a Dutchman, passed by at about two leagues distance, steering for the coast of China; again in the afternoon two English ships went by steering the same course; and thus we thought we saw ourselves beset with enemies, both one way and the other. The people we were among were the most barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coast; and among other customs

they have this, that, if any vessel be shipwrecked upon their coast, they presently make the men prisoners, that is to say, slaves; and it was not long before we found a spice of their kindness, on the following occasion.

I have observed above that our ship sprung a leak, and that we could not find it out; and as we did not find her so perfectly sound as we desired, we resolved, while we were in this place, to lay her on shore, and if possible to find out where the leaks were. Accordingly, having lightened the ship, we tried to turn her over, that we might examine her. The inhabitants, who had never seen such a sight, came wondering down to the shore to look at us; and seeing the ship lie down on one side in such a manner, and not seeing our men, who were at work on her sides, they concluded that the ship was cast away. On this supposition they came about us in two or three hours' time, intending to plunder the ship. When they began to row round her, they discovered us all hard at work, washing, and scraping, and stopping, as every seafaring man knows how. They stood awhile gazing at us, and we could not imagine what their design was: but we took this opportunity to hand down arms and ammunition for the men to defend themselves with, if there should be occasion: and it was no more than was needed, for in a little they all came down upon us in a line of battle. Our men seeing so many of them, cried out to us to know what they should do. I immediately called to the men upon the stages to get into the ship, and bade those in the boat to come on board, and bring the ship to rights; but, however, neither the men upon the stages nor those in the boat could do as they were ordered before the Cochin-Chinese were upon them, and two of their boats had boarded our long-boat, and had begun to lay hold of the men as their prisoners. The first man they laid hold of was an English seaman, a stout, strong fellow, who having a musket in his hand never offered to fire, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought. But he understood his business better than I could teach him; for he grappled the Pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their boat into ours, where taking him by the two ears he beat his head so against the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died instantly in his hands; and in the mean time a Dutchman took up the musket, and with the butt end of it so laid about him, that he knocked down

five of them who attempted to enter the boat. This was doing little towards resisting thirty or forty men; but an accident gave our men a complete victory, which deserved our laughter rather than anything else. Our carpenter, preparing to fill the seams, had got two kettles let down into the boat, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with such stuff as shipwrights use for that work; and the man that assisted the carpenter had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he supplied the men that were at work with the hot stuff. Two of the men entered the boat just where this fellow stood: he immediately saluted them with a ladlefull of the stuff, boiling hot, which so burnt and scalded them, that they roared out like two bulls, and leaped both into the sea. The carpenter saw it, and cried out, "Well done, Jack, give them some more of it!"—when stepping forward himself, he took one of the mops, and dipping it in the pitch-pot, threw it among them so plentifully, that of all the men in the three boats there was not one that was not scalded in a most frightful manner; and they made such a howling and crying, that I never heard a worse noise; for it is worth observing, that though pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation has a particular way of exclamation, and makes noises as different from one another as their speech.

I was never better pleased with a victory in my life; not only as it was a perfect surprise to me, but as we got it without any bloodshed, except of that man the fellow killed with his naked hands, which I was much concerned at; for I was sick of killing such poor savage wretches even in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought just, and knew no better. But to return to my story. While this was doing, we brought the ship to rights; and, having got the guns into their places, the gunner bid our boat get out of the way, for he meant to let fly among them. I bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him, and bade him heat another pitch-kettle. But the enemy was so terrified that they would not come on again; and some of them that were farthest off, seeing the ship upright, began to see their mistake and gave over their enterprise. Thus we got clear of this odd fight, and resolved to stay here no longer, whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we should be surrounded next day with rogues enough, perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would dispose of for us. The



next day, having finished our work, and finding our ship was perfectly sound, we set sail. When we had got to sea, we kept on N.E. as if toward the Philippino islands; and this we did that we might not fall into the way of European ships; and then we steered north again, keeping the coast of China at an equal distance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports where European ships usually come. Being now in latitude 30 degrees, we resolved to put into the first trading port we arrived at, and standing in for the shore, a boat came off, with an old Portuguese pilot, who came to offer his services. I thought it was now so much in our power to make the old man carry us whither we would, that I began to talk with him about going to see the great city of Peking, and the famous court of the monarch of China. "Why, then," said the old man, "you should go to Ningpo." "Well," said I, "Senhor Portuguese, but the great question is if you can carry us up to the city of Nanquin, from whence we can travel to Peking afterwards?" Yes, he said, he could do so very well, and there was a great Dutch ship gone up that way just before. This gave me a little shock; a Dutch ship was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the devil, at least if he had not come in too frightful a figure. The old man found me a little confused, when he named a Dutch ship; and said to me, "Sir, you need be under no apprehensions of the Dutch; they are no pirates, what need you fear?" If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by some stop in the vessels appointed by nature to prevent it; for it put me into the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable, nor was it possible for me to conceal it so that the old man should not perceive it. "Sir," said he, "I find you are in some disorder in your thoughts at my talk; pray be pleased to go which way you think fit, and depend upon it I'll do you all the service I can." "Why, Senhor," said I, "it is true I am a little unsettled in my resolution at this time, and I am something more so for what you said about pirates." "O, sir," said he, "do not be concerned; I do not know that there have been any pirates in these seas for the last fifteen years, except one, which was seen, as I hear, in the bay of Siam, about a month since, but he got away. However, they have all so exact a description of the ship, that they will be sure to know him; and whenever they find him, they have vowed

to give no quarter either to the captain or seamen, but to hang them all up at the yard-arm."

"What!" said I, "will they execute them right or wrong; hang them first, and judge them afterwards?" "O sir," said the old pilot, "there is no need of making a formal business of it with such rogues as those; let them tie them back to back and set them a diving; it is no more than they richly deserve." I knew I had my old man fast aboard, and that he could do me no harm; so I turned short upon him: "Well, now, signor," said I, "this is the very reason why I would have you carry us up to Nanquin, and not put back to Macao, or to any other part of the country, where the English or Dutch ships come; for be it known to you, signor, those captains of the English and Dutch ships are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to justice, nor how to behave themselves as the laws of God and nature direct; but being proud of their offices, and not understanding their power, they, by way of punishing robbers, act the murderers, take upon them to insult men falsely accused, and determine them guilty without due inquiry; and, perhaps, I may live to call some of them to an account for it, where they may be taught how justice is to be executed, and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal till there is some evidence of the crime."

I then told him that this was the very ship they had attacked, and gave him a full account of the skirmish we had with their boats, and how foolishly and coward-like they behaved. I told him all the story of our buying the ship, and how the Dutchmen served us. I told him the reasons I had to believe that this story of killing the master by the Malaccans was true, as also the running away with the ship; but that it was all a fiction of their own to suggest that the men were turned pirates; that they ought to have been sure it was so, before they had ventured to attack us by surprise, and oblige us to resist them; adding, that they would have the blood of the men killed there in our just defence to answer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation, and told us we were very much in the right to go away to the north; and that if he might advise us, it should be to sell the ship in China, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country. "And," said he, "though you will

not get so good a ship, yet you may get one sufficient to carry you and all your goods back again to Bengal, or any where else."

I told him I would take his advice, when I came to any port where I could find a ship for my turn, or get any customer to buy this. He replied, I should meet with customers enough for the ship at Nanquin, and that a Chinese junk would serve me very well to go back again; and that he would procure me people both to buy the one and sell the other.

We now went forward directly to Nanquin, and, in about thirteen days' sail, came to anchor at the south-west point of the Gulf of Nanquin, where I came by accident to understand that two Dutch ships had gone that way before me, and that I should certainly fall into their hands. I asked the old pilot if there was no creek or harbour which I might put into, and be in no danger of the enemy? He told me that to the southward about two and forty leagues, there was a little port called Quinchang, where the fathers of the Mission usually landed from Macao, on their progress to teach the Christian religion to the Chinese, and where no European ships ever put in; and if I put in there, I might consider what farther course to take.

This being agreed to, we weighed the next day. We did not reach the port (the wind being contrary) until five days; but it was very much to our satisfaction, and I was thankful when I set my foot safe on shore; resolving, and my partner too, that if it was possible to dispose of ourselves and effects any other way, though not altogether to our satisfaction, we would never set foot on board that unhappy vessel more. For both my partner and I scarcely slept a night without dreaming of halters and gibbets, of fighting and being taken, of killing and being killed; and one night especially I was in such a fury in my dream, fancying the Dutchmen had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their seamen down, that I struck my doubled fist against the side of the cabin I lay in with such a force as wounded my hand most grievously, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruised the flesh, so that it not only awoke me out of my sleep, but I was once afraid I should have lost two of my fingers.

When we came on shore, the old pilot got us a lodging, and a warehouse for our goods. It was a little house or hut, with another joining it, all built with canes, and palisadoed

round with large canes to keep out thieves, of which, it seems, there were not a few in that country. However, the magistrates allowed us also a little guard, and we had a man with a kind of halbert, who stood at our door ; so our goods were kept very safe.

The fair or mart, usually kept in this place, had been over some time ; however, we found that there were three or four junks in the river, and two ships from Japan, with goods they had bought in China, and which were not gone away, having some Japanese merchants on shore.

We began now to be very doubtful what we should do, for we were in a place of very little business ; and once I was about to venture to sail for the river of Kilam, and the city of Nanquin ; but Providence seemed here to begin to clear up our way a little ; and the first thing that offered was, that our old Portuguese pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who began to inquire what merchandise we had ; and, while we were dealing with him for our goods, it came into my head that he might perhaps deal with us for the ship too ; and I ordered the interpreter to propose it to him. He shrugged up his shoulders at it, when it was first proposed to him ; but in a few days after, he came and told me he had a proposal to make to me, and that was this. He had bought a great quantity of goods of us when he had no thought of buying the ship, and therefore he had not money enough to pay for her ; but if I would let the same men who were in the ship navigate her, he would hire the ship to go to Japan, and would send them from thence to the Philippine islands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of before they went from Japan ; and that, at their return, he would buy the ship. The first thing we had to do was to consult with the captain and the men, and know if they were willing to go to Japan ; and, while I was doing this, the young man whom my nephew had left with me as my companion, came to me and said, that he thought that voyage promised very fair, and that he should be very glad if I undertook it ; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or as I pleased to order him ; that if ever he came to England, and I was there and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his success, and it should be as much mine as I pleased.

I was really loath to part with him ; but considering that

he was a young fellow likely to do well in it, I was inclined to let him go ; but first I told him I would consult my partner. We discoursed about it ; and my partner made a most generous offer. " You know," said he, " it has been an unlucky ship, and we both resolve not to go to sea in it again : if your steward will venture the voyage, I will leave my share of the vessel to him, and let him make the best of it ; and if we live to meet in England, and he has success abroad, he shall account for one half of the profits of the ship's freight to us, and the other shall be his own."

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him such an offer, I could do no less than offer him the same. And all the ship's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ship to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other ; and away he went to Japan.

The Japan merchant proved a very punctual honest man to him, protected him, and got his ship made a free ship. The governor of Manilla next hired him to go to Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico. There he sold his ship ; and found means, some how or other, to get to Jamaica with all his treasure ; and, about eight years after, came to England, exceeding wealthy.

Having now to part with the ship and ship's company, we had to consider what recompense we should give to the two men that gave us such timely notice of the design against us in the river of Cambodia. They deserved well at our hands, though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues : for, as they believed that we had really run away with the ship, they came down to us, not only to betray the design that was formed against us, but to go to sea with us as pirates ; and one of them confessed afterwards that nothing else but the hopes of going a-roguing brought him to do it. However, the service they did us was not the less ; and therefore, as I had promised to be grateful to them, I first ordered the money to be paid them which they said was due to them on board their respective ships, and I gave each of them a small sum of money in gold, which pleased them very well : then I made the Englishman gunner in the ship ; the Dutchman I made boatswain ; so they were both satisfied, and proved serviceable, being both able seamen, and very stout fellows.

## CHAPTER XI.

WE were now on shore in China. If I thought myself remote from my own country at Bengal, what could I think of myself now when about a thousand leagues farther off from home, and destitute of all prospect of return? To divert ourselves, we went ten days journey to see the city of Nanquin.

This led us into the heart of China; after which we had a mind to see the city of Pekin. I referred it to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice, who resolved in the affirmative, and we prepared for our journey. We set out with every advantage, and were five-and-twenty days travelling to Pekin, through a country infinitely populous, but miserably cultivated—the husbandry, the economy, and the way of living all very miserable, though they boast so much of the industry of the people. The pride of these people is only exceeded by their poverty, which adds to that which I call their misery. They are proud and insolent, and, in the main, mere beggars and drudges: their ostentation is inexpressible, and is chiefly shewn in their clothes and buildings, and in the keeping multitudes of servants or slaves, and, which is to the last degree ridiculous, their contempt of all the world but themselves. Nothing was more surprising to me than to see such a haughty, imperious, insolent people, in the midst of the grossest ignorance; for all their famed ingenuity is no more. I used to be much amused to see the beggarly pride of those people. For example, coming by the house of a country gentleman, as he was called, we had the honour to ride with the master of the house about two miles: the state he rode in was a perfect Don Quixotism, being a mixture of pomp and poverty. The habit of this greasy Don was very proper for a merry-andrew; being a dirty calico, with all the tawdry trappings of a fool's coat, such as hanging sleeves, taffety, and cuts and slashes almost on every side: it covered a rich taffety vest, as greasy as a butcher's, which testified that his honour must needs be a most exquisite sloven. His horse was a poor lean, starved, hobbling creature, such as in England might sell for about thirty or forty shillings; and he had two

slaves, who followed him on foot, to drive the poor creature along: he had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beast as fast about the head as his slaves did about the tail; and thus he rode by us with about ten or twelve servants, and we were told he was going from Nankin to his country-seat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us; and as we stopped at a village about an hour to refresh us, when we came by the country-seat of this great man, we saw him in a little arbour before his door eating his repast: he was easy to be seen; and we were given to understand that the more we looked on him the better he would be pleased. He sat under a tree, which effectually shaded him, but under the tree also was placed a large umbrella: he sat lolling back in a great elbow-chair, being a heavy, corpulent man, his meat being brought him by two slaves: one fed the 'squire with the spoon, and the other held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what he let fall upon his beard and taffety vest with the other; while the big fat master thought it below him to employ his own hands in any of those offices which monarchs would rather do than be troubled with the fingers of their servants.

I was now light-hearted, and had no anxious thoughts about me, which made this journey much the pleasanter; nor had I any ill accident, only in the fording a small river my horse fell, and made me *free of the country*, as they call it; that is to say, threw me in. At length we arrived at Pekin. I had nobody with me but the youth whom my nephew had given me to attend me, who proved very trusty and diligent; and my partner had but one servant, who was a kinsman. As for the Portuguese pilot, he being desirous to see the court, we bore his charges for his company. This old man was most useful to us everywhere; for we had not been above a week at Pekin when he came laughing, "Ah, Senhor Inglese," said he, "I have something to tell you that will make your heart glad?" "My heart glad," said I; "what can that be? I don't know anything in this country that can either give me joy or grief to any great degree." "Yes, yes," said the old man, in broken English, "make you glad, me sorrow." "Why," said I, "will it make you sorry?" "Because," said he, "you have brought me here twenty-five days journey, and will leave me to go back alone; and how shall I get to my port afterwards, without a ship, without

a horse, without pecune?" so he called money, being his broken Latin, of which he had abundance to make us merry with. In short, he told us there was a great caravan of Russian and Polish merchants in the city, and that they were preparing to set out on their journey, by land, to Russia, within four or five weeks; and he was sure we would take the opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind to go back alone. I confess I was surprised with his news: a secret joy spread itself over my whole soul, which I cannot describe, and never felt before or since. "Well, senhor," said I, "do not be uneasy about being left to go back alone: if this be a way for my return to England, it shall be your fault if you go back to Macao at all." I then asked my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would suit with his affairs: he told me he would do just what I did; he would be satisfied to go to England. Having resolved upon this, we agreed, if our Portuguese pilot would go with us, to defray his expenses to Moscow, or to England, if he pleased, being willing to have him with us, for he was a most necessary man on all occasions. He received the proposal like a man transported, and told us he would go with us over the whole world; and so we all prepared ourselves for the journey.

It was the beginning of February when we set out from Peking. The company was very great, and made between three and four hundred horses and camels, and upwards of a hundred and twenty men, well armed, and provided for all events. They consisted of people of several nations, but Russians chiefly; and, to our great satisfaction, five of them were Scots, who appeared also to be men of great experience in business, and of very good substance. When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides called all the gentlemen and merchants to a great council, as they termed it. And here they arranged the journey; viz. they named captains to give the command in case of an attack, and gave every one their turn of command. The road on this side of the country is full of potters; and, as I was going along, our old pilot, who had always something or other to say to make us merry, came laughing to me, and told me he would shew me the greatest rarity in all the country; and that I should have this to say of China, after all the ill-humoured things I had said of it, that I had seen one thing which was not to be seen



in all the world beside. I was importunate to know what it was; at last he told me it was a gentleman's house, built all of crockery. "I mean," said he, "it is a house all made of China ware, as you call it in England; or, as it is called in our country, porcelain." "Well," said I, "such a thing may be: how big is it? Can we carry it in a box upon a camel? If we can, we will buy it." "Upon a camel?" said the old pilot, holding up both his hands; "why, there's a family of thirty people lives in it!" I was then curious to see it; and it was nothing but this: it was a timber house, but all the covering was really China ware. The outside was glazed, and looked very well, perfectly white, and painted with blue figures, as the large China ware in England is painted. As to the inside, all the walls were lined with painted tiles, all made of the finest China, and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours, mixed with gold. The floors of the rooms were of the same composition, and as hard as stone, and smooth: the ceilings, and, in a word, all the plastering work in the whole house, were of the same earth; and the roof was covered with tiles of the same, of a deep shining black. This was a China warehouse indeed, and I could have stayed some days to examine it. They told me there were fountains and fish-ponds in the garden, all paved at the bottom and sides with the same; and fine statues set up in rows on the walks, entirely formed of the porcelain earth, and burnt whole. As this is one of the singularities of China, so they may be allowed to excel in it; but I am very sure they excel in their accounts of it: for they told me such incredible things of their performance in crockery-ware that I care not to relate. One told me, in particular, of a workman that made a ship, with all its tackle, and masts, and sails, in earthenware, big enough to carry fifty men. If he had told me he had launched it, and made a voyage to Japan in it, I might have said something to it indeed; but as it was, I smiled, and said nothing.

In two days more we passed the great China wall, made for a fortification against the Tartars; and a very great work it is, going over mountains, sometimes in a needless track, where the rocks are impassable, and the precipices such as no enemy could possibly climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us its length is near a thousand English miles, but that the country is five hundred,

in a straight measured line, which the wall bounds; it is about four fathoms high, and as many thick in some places. I stood an hour to look at it; and the guide of our caravan, who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was very eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a most excellent thing to keep off the Tartars, which he happened not to understand as I meant it, and so took it for a compliment; but the old pilot laughed: "O, Senhor Inglese," said he, "you speak in colours." "In colours?" said I; "what do you mean by that?" "Why, you speak what looks white this way, and black that way; gay one way, and dull another way. You tell him it is a good wall to keep out Tartars: you tell me, by that, it is good for nothing but to keep out Tartars; or it will keep out none but Tartars. I understand you, Senhor Inglese, I understand you," said he, "but Senhor Chinese understand you his own way." The Chinese wanted mightily to know what I said, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days after; but when he knew what I had said, he was dumb all the rest of the way, and we heard no more of his fine story of the Chinese power and greatness while he stayed. After we had passed this mighty nothing, called a wall, we began to find the country thinly inhabited. And here I began to discover the necessity of keeping together in a caravan; for we saw several troops of Tartars roving about: but when I came to see them distinctly, I wondered more that the Chinese empire could be conquered by such contemptible creatures; for they are a mere crowd of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline or manner of fight. Their horses are poor, lean, starved creatures, and fit for nothing. Our leader for the day gave leave for about sixteen of us to go a hunting, as they call it; and what was this but hunting of sheep! In our pursuit of this odd sort of game, it was our hap to meet with about forty Tartars: as soon as they saw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud. We all supposed this was to call their friends about them; and so it was: for in less than a quarter of an hour a troop of forty or more appeared at a distance. One of the Scots merchants happened to be amongst us; and as soon he heard the horn, he told us that we had nothing to do but to charge them without loss of time; and, drawing us up in a line, he asked if we were resolved? We told him we were ready to follow him: so

he rode directly up to them. They stood gazing at us like a mere crowd; but as soon as they saw us advance, they let fly their arrows; but they all fell short of us. We halted and fired, and sent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our shot full gallop, resolving to fall in among them sword in hand; for so our bold Scot directed. As soon as we came up to them, we fired our pistols in their faces and then drew our swords; but they fled in the greatest confusion imaginable: the only stand any of them made was on our right, where three of them stood, and, by signs, called the rest to come back. Our brave commander, without asking anybody to follow him, galloped up close to them, and with his fusil knocked one of them off his horse, killed the second with his pistol, and the third ran away; and thus ended our fight: but we had this misfortune attending it, that all our mutton that we had in chase got away. We had not a man killed or hurt; but, as for the Tartars, there were about five of them killed, and the other party was so frightened with the noise of our guns that they fled.

We were all this while in the Chinese dominions, but in five days we entered a vast wild désert, where we marched for three days and three nights. I asked our guides whose dominion this was in, and they told me this was a kind of border that might be called No-Man's Land; being a part of the Great Karakathy, or Grand Tartary. In passing this wilderness, we saw two or three parties of the Tartars, but they seemed to be upon their own affairs; and so, as they had nothing to say to us, and we had nothing to say to them, we let them go. We travelled near a month after this, still in the dominions of the Emperor of China, but our road lay, for the most part, in villages. When we came to one of these towns, I wanted to buy a camel. The person I spoke to would have gone and fetched one for me; but I, like a fool, would be officious, and go along with him. It was two miles off, but I walked on foot, with my old pilot and a Chinese, being desirous, in fact, of a little variety. When we came to the place, it was a low marshy ground, walled round with stone, with a guard of Chinese soldiers at the doors. Having bought a camel I came away, the Chinese man leading the camel, when on a sudden up came five Tartars on horseback: two seized the fellow, and took the camel from him, while the other three stepped up to me and my old pilot. The first that

came up stopped short upon my drawing my sword, for they are arrant cowards; but a second coming upon my left gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterwards, and wondered, when I came to myself, what was the matter with me and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground; but my never-failing old pilot (so Providence directs deliverances from dangers which to us are unforeseen) had a pistol in his pocket. The old man, seeing me down, stepped up to the fellow that had struck me, and laying hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force towards him with the other, shot him in the head, and laid him dead upon the spot: he then immediately stepped up to him who had stopped us, and before he could come forward again, made a blow at him with a scimitar, but, missing the man, cut his horse. The poor beast, enraged with the wound, flew off, and, at some distance, rising upon his hind legs, threw the Tartar, and fell upon him. In this interval the poor Chinese came in who had lost the camel, but he had no weapon: however, seeing the Tartar down, he ran up to him, and seizing upon a weapon he had by his side, something like a pole-axe, he made shift to knock his Tartarian brains out with it. But my old man had the third Tartar to deal with still; and seeing he did not fly nor come on to fight, but stood stock still, the old man stood still too, and began to charge his pistol again: but as soon as the Tartar saw the pistol, away he scoured, and left my pilot a complete victory. By this time I was a little awake; but I wondered where I was, how I came upon the ground, and what was the matter. A few moments after, as my senses returned, I felt pain, though I did not know where: I clapped my hand to my head, and took it away bloody; and in another moment memory returned, and every thing was present to me. I jumped up instantly, and got hold of my sword, but no enemies were in view. I found a Tartar lie dead, and his horse standing quietly by him; and looking farther, I saw my champion and deliverer coming back with his knife in his hand. The old man came running to me, and embraced me with a great deal of joy, being afraid that I had been killed; but the hurt was not much, and I was well again in two or three days.

The city of Naum is a frontier of the Chinese empire. We wanted about two days journey of this city, when messengers were sent express to tell all travellers to halt till they had

a guard sent to them, for that a body of Tartars, ten thousand in all, had appeared about thirty miles beyond the city. This was very bad news to travellers. Accordingly, we had two hundred soldiers sent us from a garrison on our left, and three hundred more from the city, and with these we advanced boldly. Thus well prepared, we thought ourselves a match for the whole body of Tartars, if they appeared; but when they did appear, it was quite another thing. We had a river to pass, and when we had entered upon a desert of about sixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of dust they raised, we saw an enemy was at hand. The Chinese, our guard on the front, who had talked so big the day before, began to stagger, and frequently looked behind them, which is a certain sign in a soldier that he is just ready to run away. My old pilot was of my mind, and called out; "Senhor Inglese, those fellows must be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; for if the Tartars come on, they will never stand it." "I am of your thinking," said I; "but what must be done?" "Done?" said he, "let fifty of our men advance, and flank them on each wing, and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company; but without it, they will every man turn his back." Accordingly fifty of us marched to the right, and fifty to the left, and the rest made a line of reserve, leaving the last two hundred to make a body by themselves, and to guard the camels; only that, if necessary, they were to send a hundred men to assist the last fifty. The Tartars came on, and an innumerable company they were. A party of them came on first, traversing the ground in the front of our line; and as we found them within gunshot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance, and give them a *salvo* on each wing with their shot, which was done; but they went off, as I suppose, to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with; and, indeed, that salute stayed their stomachs: for they halted to consider of it, and, wheeling off to the left, they gave over their design, and left us for that time.

Two days after this we came to the city of Naum; and here we rested one day. After this we passed several great rivers, and two dreadful deserts, one of which we were sixteen days passing over; and on the 13th of April we came to the frontiers of the Russian dominions.

We now advanced through a continued desert or forest, which took us twenty days to travel over. In a village near

the city of Nortzinskoy, the inhabitants are mere pagans ; and I had the curiosity to go and see their way of living. They had a great sacrifice that day ; for there stood out, upon an old stump of a tree, a frightful looking idol made of wood. It had a head certainly not so much as resembling any creature that the world ever saw ; ears as big as goats' horns, and as high ; eyes as big as a crown-piece ; a nose like a ram's horn, and a mouth four-cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under-bill. It was dressed up in the strangest manner imaginable : its upper garment was of sheepskins, with the wool outward ; a great Tartar bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it ; it was about eight feet high, yet had no feet or legs. This figure was set up at the outside of the village ; and when I came near to it, there were sixteen or seventeen creatures flat on the ground round this block of shapeless wood. I saw no motion among them any more than if they had been all logs of wood, like their idol ; and at first I really thought they had been so : but when I came nearer, they started up, and raised a howling cry, as if it had been so many deep-mouthed hounds, and walked away, as if displeased at our disturbing them. A little way off from this monster stood three butchers, as I thought them ; and in the middle of the tent were three sheep killed, and one young bullock. These were their sacrifices, and the seventeen prostrate creatures were the people who brought the offering, and were making their prayers to that stock. All my wonder now turned to rage ; I rode up to the image, or monster, call it what you will, and with my sword cut the bonnet that was on its head in two in the middle, so that it hung down by one of the horns ; and one of our men that was with me took hold of the sheep-skin that covered it, and pulled at it, when, behold, a most hideous outcry and howling ran through the village, and two or three hundred people came about my ears, so that I was glad to run for it.

It did not end here, however ; for after our departure came a great multitude of the country people, and in a most outrageous manner demanded satisfaction of the Russian governor for insulting their great Cham-Chi-Thaungu—such was the name they gave the monstrous creature they worshipped. The governor, at first, gave them all the good words he could ; at last he told them there was a caravan

gone towards Russia that morning, and perhaps it was some of them who had done them this injury, and that he would inquire into it. This seemed to appease them a little; and accordingly the governor sent after us, intimating, that if any in our caravan had done it they should make their escape. Our captain for the day took the hint, and we travelled two days and two nights without any considerable stop, and then we halted at a village called Plothus; nor did we long stop here, but hastened towards Jarawena, where we heard we should be safe.

From this city we had a frightful desert, which cost us a three-and-twenty days march, and in which we saw neither house nor trees, nor scarce a bush. After we had passed this desert, we came into a country pretty well inhabited. I thought that, as we came nearer to Europe, we should find the people more civilized; but I found myself mistaken in this, for we had yet the nation of the Tonguses to pass through, where we saw the same tokens of barbarism, or worse, than before. But I do not mean to describe people and countries, any farther than my own story comes to be concerned in them. After we were out of this desert, and had travelled two days, we came to Janezay, a Muscovite city or station, on the great river Janezay. From this river to the great river Oby, we crossed a wild, uncultivated country, barren of people, but in itself a most pleasant, fruitful, and agreeable country.

We had been now almost seven months on our journey, and winter began to come on; when, considering that we were bound for England, and not for Moscow, my partner and I resolved to let the caravan go, and to make provision to winter where we were, at Tobolski, in Siberia, in the latitude of sixty degrees, where we were sure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, viz. plenty of provisions, a warm house, with fuel enough, and excellent company. The most wonderful thing of all was, that it should be possible to meet with good company here, in the most northerly part of Europe, near the Frozen Ocean, and within but a very few degrees of Nova Zembla. But this being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy are banished, this city was full of noblemen and gentlemen, and some ladies. By means of my Scots merchant, whom I parted with here, I made acquaintance with several of these gentlemen, and received

very agreeable visits. I was sitting one night with a certain prince, one of the banished ministers of state belonging to the czar of Russia. He had been telling me many fine things of the greatness, the magnificence, the dominions, and the absolute power of the Emperor of the Russias. I interrupted him, and told him I was a greater and more powerful prince than ever the czar was. The Russian grandee looked a little surprised, and began to wonder what I meant. I told him his wonder would cease when I had explained myself. I then told them the story at large of my living in the island, and how I managed both myself and the people there that were under me, just as I have told it to the reader. They were exceedingly taken with the story, and especially the prince, who told me, with a sigh, that the true greatness of life was to be master of ourselves; that he would not have exchanged such a state of life as mine to have been czar of Muscovy; that the height of human wisdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumstances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greatest storm without; that he found the mind of man, if it is but once brought to reflect how little this world is concerned in its true felicity, is perfectly capable of making a happiness for itself, suitable to its own best ends and desires, with but very little assistance from the world; that being now deprived of all the fancied felicities which he once enjoyed in the world, he said he was at leisure to look upon the dark side of them, where he found all manner of deformity; and was now convinced that virtue only makes a man truly wise, rich, and great, and preserves him in the way to a superior happiness in a future state; and in this, he said, they were more happy in their banishment, than all their enemies were, who had the full possession of all the wealth and power that they had left behind them.

"Nor, sir," said he, "do I bring my mind to this merely by the necessity of my circumstances, which some call miserable; but if I know any thing of myself, if the czar my master should offer to reinstate me in all my former grandeur, I would no more go back to it, than I believe my soul, when it shall be delivered from this prison of the body, and has had a taste of the glorious state beyond life, would come back to the prison of the flesh and blood it is now enclosed in, and leave Heaven to deal in the dirt and grime



of human affairs." He spoke this with so much warmth and earnestness, that it was evident it was the true sense of his soul; and indeed there was no room to doubt his sincerity. I have no time to give a full account of all the agreeable conversation I had with this truly great man; in all which he shewed that his mind was so inspired with a superior knowledge of things, so supported by religion, as well as by a vast share of wisdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expressed, and that he was always the same to the last, as will appear in the story I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dreadful winter it was. The cold was so intense that I could not so much as look abroad without being wrapt in furs; a mask of fur before my face, or rather a hood, with only a hole for breath, and two for sight. The little daylight we had, for three months, was not above five hours a day, or six at most; only that as the snow lay on the ground continually, it was never quite dark. Our horses were kept, or rather starved, underground; and as for our servants, for we hired servants here to look after our horses and ourselves, we had every now and then their fingers and toes to thaw and take care of, lest they should mortify and fall off. It is true, in-doors we were warm, the houses being close, the walls thick, and the windows all double. Our food was chiefly the flesh of deer, dried and cured in the season; good bread enough, but baked as biscuits; dried fish of several sorts, and some flesh of mutton, and of buffaloes, which is pretty good beef. All the stores of provision for the winter are laid up in the summer, and well cured. Our drink was water, mixed with spirits; and, for a treat, mead instead of wine, which, however, they have extremely good. The hunters, who ventured abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in fresh venison, very fat and good; and sometimes bear's flesh, but this we did not care for. We had a good stock of tea, with which we treated our friends; and, in a word, we lived very cheerfully and well, all things considered.

It was now Marcn, and the days grown considerably longer, and the weather at least tolerable: so the other travellers began to prepare sledges to carry them over the snow, and to get things ready to be going. I saw all the travellers go away before me, and about the latter end of

May I began to make ready to pack up; and as I was doing this, it occurred to me, that seeing all these people were left at liberty to go whither they would, why did they not then go away to any part of the world wherever they thought fit? But my wonder was over when I entered upon that subject with the person I have mentioned, who answered me thus: "Consider first, sir," said he, "the place where we are; and, secondly, the condition we are in. We are surrounded with stronger things than bars and bolts: on the north side is an unnavigable ocean, where ship never sailed, and boat never swam. Every other way, we have above a thousand miles to pass through the czar's own dominions, and through towns garrisoned by his troops; so that we could neither pass undiscovered by the road, nor subsist any other way: therefore it is in vain to attempt it." I was silenced; however, it came again into my thoughts that I might possibly be made an instrument to procure the escape of this excellent person, and that, whatever hazard I run, I would certainly try if I could carry him off. I took an occasion one evening to tell him my thoughts: I represented to him that it was very easy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to Moscow, we might easily pass uninterrupted to Archangel, where I could immediately secure him on board an English or Dutch ship, and carry him off safe along with me; and as to his subsistence, and other particulars, that should be my care, till he could better supply himself. He heard me very attentively, and looked earnestly on me all the while I spoke; nay, I could see in his very face that what I said put his spirits into an exceeding ferment: his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, so that it might even be perceived in his countenance; nor could he immediately answer me when I had done, and waited for what he would say to it. But after he had paused a little, he embraced me, and said, "Dear sir, let me remain in this blessed confinement, banished from the crimes of life, rather than purchase a show of freedom at the expense of the liberty of my reason, and at the expense of the future happiness which now I have in my view, but shall then, I fear, quickly lose sight of; for I am but flesh, a man, a mere man, have passions and affections as likely to possess and overthrow me as any man: O be not my friend and tempter both together!" If I was

surprised before, I was quite dumb now, and stood looking at him; and, indeed, admired what I saw. The struggle in his soul was so great, that I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; so I said a word or two, and withdrew to my apartment. About two hours after, I heard somebody near my room, and I was going to open the door; but he had opened it, and come in: "My dear friend," said he, "you had almost overset me, but I am recovered." Do not take it ill that I do not close with your offer: I assure you, it is not for want of a sense of the kindness of it in you; and I come to make the most sincere acknowledgment of it to you: but I hope I have got the victory over myself; and have an infinite satisfaction, in the parting, that you shall leave me an honest man still, though not a free man." I had nothing to do but to make professions to him of my having no end in it but a sincere desire to serve him. He embraced me very passionately, and assured me he was sensible of that, and should always acknowledge it; and with that he offered me a very fine present of sables, too much indeed for me to accept from a man in his circumstances, and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refused. The next morning I sent my servant to his lordship, with a small present of tea, two pieces of China damask, and four little wedges of Japan gold which did not all weigh above six ounces, or thereabouts, but were far short of the value of his sables, which indeed, when I came to England, I found worth nearly two hundred pounds. He accepted the tea, and one piece of the damask, and one of the pieces of gold, with a fine stamp upon it of the Japan coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more.

It was in the beginning of June when I left this remote place; a city, I believe, little heard of in the world. We had now the worst and the largest desert to pass over that we met with in all the journey.

In passing this desert, I thought indeed we must, after all our dangers were, in our imagination, escaped, have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered, by a troop of thieves. Of what country they were; whether the roving bands of the Ostiachi, a kind of Tartars, or wild people on the banks of the Oby, that had ranged thus far, or whether they were the sable-hunters of Siberia, I am yet a loss to know; but they were all on horseback, carried bows and arrows, and

were at first above five-and-forty in number. They came so near as to be within about two musket-shot of us; and, asking no questions, they surrounded us with their horses, and looked very earnestly upon us. At length they placed themselves just in our way; upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above sixteen men in all, and sent out a Siberian servant with us, to see who they were. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called to them: however, after some signs to him not to come nearer to them at his peril, offering to shoot him if he advanced, the fellow came back no wiser than he went.

This was small comfort to us; however, we had no remedy: there was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile distance, a little clump of trees, which stood very near the road: I immediately resolved we should advance to those trees, and fortify ourselves as well as we could there. It was my old Portuguese pilot who proposed it, and who had this excellence about him, that he was always ready to direct and encourage us in cases of the greatest danger. We advanced immediately with what speed we could, and gained that little wood, the Tartars not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found, to our great satisfaction, that it was a swampy piece of ground, and that the trees were very large, and stood pretty thick. We stayed here, waiting the motion of the enemy some hours, without perceiving they made any offer to stir: when about two hours before night they came down directly upon us, and, though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by some more, so that there were near fourscore horse, and we fancied we saw among them some women. They came on till they were within half a shot of our little wood, when we fired one musket without ball, and called to them in the Russian tongue, to know what they wanted, and bid them keep off; but, as if they knew nothing of what we said, they came on with fury directly up to the wood-side, not imagining we were so barricaded that they could not break in. Our old pilot was our captain, and desired us not to fire till they came within pistol-shot. We bade him give the word of command, which he delayed so long, that they were within two pikes' length of us when we fired. We aimed so true that we killed fourteen of them, and wounded several. They were terribly surprised with our fire, and retreated about one

hundred yards from us, in which time we loaded again, and seeing them keep that distance, we sallied out, and coming up to the dead, we could easily perceive they were Tartars. An hour after, they made as if they would attack us again, and rode round our little wood, to see where else they might break in; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off, and we resolved not to stir from the place for that night.

We slept little, but spent the most part of the night in strengthening our situation, and, keeping a strict watch, waited for daylight, which, when it came, gave us a very unwelcome discovery indeed: for the enemy were now increased to no less than three hundred, and had set up eleven or twelve tents upon the open plain, at a little distance from us. And now, I confess, I gave myself over for lost, and all that I had. The loss of my goods did not lie so near my heart as the thoughts of falling into the hands of such barbarians at the latter end of my journey, and even in sight of our port, where we expected safety and deliverance. As for my partner he was enraged: he declared that to lose his goods would be his ruin, and he was for fighting to the last. My old pilot was of opinion that we were able to resist them all in the position we then were in; and we spent the day in debating what we should do: but towards evening, we found that the number of our enemies still increased, and we did not know but by the morning they might still be in greater numbers: so I began to inquire of those people we had brought from Tobolski if there were no way by which we might avoid them in the night, and either retreat to some town, or get help to guard us over the desert. A Siberian servant of one of our party told us, if we wished to avoid them, he would engage to carry us off in the night by a way that went north towards the river Petraz, by which he made no question but we might get away, and the Tartars never the wiser. I told him, if he thought it possible for us to escape, we had nothing else to do but to attempt it. He answered, he would lose his life if he did not perform it; and we immediately prepared to put his plan in practice. As soon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we prepared so as to make it burn all night, that the Tartars might conclude we were still there; but, as soon as it was dark, having all our horses and camels ready loaded,

we followed our Siberian guide, who, I found, now steered his way by the pole-star. After we had travelled very hard for two hours, it began to be lighter; not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to rise: so that it was rather lighter than we wished it to be; and by six o'clock the next morning we had got near forty miles away, though indeed we almost spoiled our horses by the fatigue. Here we found a Russian village, named Kirmazinskoy, where we rested, and heard nothing of the Kalmuck Tartars that day. About two hours before night we set out again, and travelled till eight next morning; and at length passing a little river, called Kirtza, we came to a good large town inhabited by Russians, called Ozomys. There we heard that several troops or hordes of Kalmucks had been abroad on the desert, but that we were now completely out of danger of them. Here, having need enough of rest, we stayed five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honest Siberian who brought us hither the value of ten pistoles for his services.

In five days more we came to Veussima, upon the river Witzogda, which runs into the river Dwina, so that we were there very happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable in seven or eight days passage to Archangel. From hence we came to Lawrenskoy, on the third day of July, and provided ourselves with two luggage-boats and a barge. We embarked on the seventh, and arrived all safe at Archangel on the eighteenth, having been a year, five months, and three days on the journey, including our stay of eight months and odd days at Tobolski.

We were obliged to stay at this place six weeks for the arrival of the ships, and must have tarried longer had not a Hamburgher come in above a month sooner than any of the English ships: when, considering that the city of Hamburgh might happen to be as good a market for our goods as London, we took freight with him; and having put our goods on board, we sailed from Archangel on the twentieth of August, and, after no very bad voyage, arrived in the Elbe on the thirteenth of September. Here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods; and, dividing the produce of our effects, my share amounted to £3,475 17s. 3d., notwithstanding the many losses we had sustained, and the expenses we had been at.

To conclude: having stayed near four months in Ham-

burgh, I came from thence overland to the Hague, in Holland, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in London on the 10th of January, 1705, having been gone from England ten years and nine months.

And here, resolving to harass myself no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all these, having lived for seventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learnt sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.



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